National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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"THE INDIANS."

To the Editor of the Standard:

DEAR SIR: Nothing but an editorial like the one with the above heading in the *Independent* of Oct. 22nd, could awaken the painful and indignant protest which animates me to this reply. "As *Christians believing* in the Brotherhood of all mankind," the opening sentence gave great hopes of noble words to follow, and a valiant maintainance of the right against military prestige, public prejudice and blind proscription. But the article did not fulfill those hopes, and we are referred back to that popular solution of our difficulties, "military authority," upon a subject which only the deepest philanthropy and broadest statesmanship can reach.

Why not deal with the Indians as fairly—as mercifully—as humanely as we do with the blacks of the South? Why not wage a war which *means* extermination upon the "Freedmen" because the Rebels declare that "civilization" can never advance with the colored race as political equals? There is as good cause for one as the other, and no *sufficient* reason for either.

The splendid article on "The Crisis of our Civilization," in the same paper, might have been the parent to one similar in spirit upon the proscribed Indian Race. Will you kindly permit a few words upon the history in this case. Every one who has studied what is technically called the "progress of civilization" is well aware what excuses strong and aggressive nations make when they desire to prey upon *weaker* and *defenceless* ones. The Roman Empire had a cheerful habit of "advancing civilization" by gobbling up all the lesser governments within reach, and making them *menials* or captives. The Imperial desires of the First Napoleon could only be satisfied by "civilizing" every nation within reach. And Protestant England, worthy of her Christian professions, carried murder and plunder into India for the laudable purpose of "Christianizing the Heathen" and advancing her own exchequer. But it has been left for the "Best Government in the World" to make "outlaws" of the native possessors of the soil, and drive them back at the point of the bayonet, step by step—for Christian purposes—until but a remnant remains of the once powerful tribes of the New World. The possession of the spirit, which would not endure servitude nor slavery, has caused these "wards" of the nation at all times to rebel against the encroachments of such all-devouring "civilization" as that which we have proffered to them.

Our wrongs to these people are not only recent, but "from the beginning." A few noble, peaceful men succeeded, in the early times, in calming the indomitable "wildness" and surpassing valor of some of the tribes. Daniel Boone in Kentucky, and William Penn in Pennsylvania, had no need to resort to arms to tame the savage spirit. But these examples have been lost. And statesmen have been too rapacious or too busy to ever give the Indian question serious consideration.

Such Missionaries as Father De Shmidt and Bishop Whipple—such officers as Col. Tappan (of the Peace Commission), and Col. Wynkoop—and such thinkers as Wendell Phillips, give us glimpses of the *other* side to the picture which has all the time been presented with one face only *i. e.* The terrible and barbarous depredations of the Indians—while the *criminal* and disgraceful course of the Indian Agents and such "Border Ruffians" as Chivington and Shoup, have been wholly concealed.

In this connection allow me to refer to some of the causes of the recent "Indian Wars" as reported by Col. Tappan—to the Peace Commission recently in session in Chicago:

"I wish to call the attention of the Commission to the necessity of memorializing Congress to legislate in such a manner as to confer upon our army officers additional power to guarantee protection, subsistence and safety to Indians disposed to remain at peace. Under the present policy the army is crippled and compromised. Gen. Sheridan, in his recent conference with the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches, told them that they could only remain at peace upon one condition, which was, to remove to Fort Cobb; that he could not protect them anywhere else; and it does not seem, from reading the records of that council, that Gen. Sheridan considered himself authorized to guarantee to these Indians sufficient subsistence while they should remain at Cobb—leaving the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians no alternative save that of joining the Cheyennes in war, or taking the chances of starvation and massacre at Fort Cobb. The General informed them that he could not control the volunteers from Kansas. The Indians have reason to apprehend the possibility of these volunteers attacking them, even at Cobb, if they should go there. So they determined to join the Cheyennes and go upon the war-path. It seems to me that they did the best they could, under the circumstances, for themselves. I don't know who is to blame; perhaps we deserve censure as much as anybody for not calling the attention of Congress to this subject last year. I think Gen. Sheridan should have taken the responsibility of guaranteeing protection, subsistence and safety to those Indians, even to the extent of removing them to, and of providing for them in the city of New York. I think, also, that Gens. Sherman and Sheridan ought to assume complete and absolute control of all volunteers, within their respective commands; and if they will not do so for want of authority, that authority should be given them. They ought, also, to have power to punish all persons in the Indian country who are guilty of crimes that lead to war, white men or Indians; and if they have not that authority Congress should be called upon to give it to them. The exigencies of the public service and the peace and safety of the border demand, in my opinion, that this should be done. A war with the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches must, of necessity, be attended, with immense loss of life of our own people and millions of treasure, which could have been prevented had sufficient power reposed in Gen. Sheridan to remove these Indians from the Indian country and provide for them in localities where they would have been contented. The Government, during the late war, protected and provided for prisoners at Fort Warren, Johnson Island, Chicago, and other places, and I see no reason for not doing the same for Indian prisoners. I have just received a communication from Col. Wynkoop, Agent of the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes, in reference to the origin of the present trouble. I know this officer well; I was associated with him for five years in the same regiment, in the military service of the United States. I know him as a man of unquestioned integrity, courage and faithfulness in the discharge of his official duties."

Col. Tappan then read the following letter:

COL. WYNKOOP'S LETTER.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 5th, 1868.

COL. S. F. TAPPAN—*Dear Sir:* I am in receipt of your communication of Sunday, and regret that it is impossible for me to furnish you with the details you require, for the reason that I have not my letter-book with me. My opinion is, in regard to the present Indian war, that the same could have been prevented had the Government continued to keep up the supply of subsistence that had been furnished to them during the spring and early summer. They had gradually got weaned from their old habits to that extent that they depended upon the provisions which I issued to them, and consequently it was not necessary for them to scatter out in little bands all over the country for the purpose of finding game; thereby running risks of coming in contact with white men, and also being subjected to temptations when hungry; but soon after the supplies were stopped. Had I been allowed to issue the arms and ammunition to them at the time promised, they still would have been contented, from the fact of their having the means to procure game. But the failure of the Government to fulfill its promises in the latter respect naturally incensed some of the wilder spirits among them, and consequently the outrages committed upon the Saline. Immediately upon hearing of the said outrages, I, anxious to have the guilty punished, and by that means save those of the different tribes who did not deserve punishment, saw two of the chiefs of the Cheyennes, viz., "Medicine Arrows" and "Little Rock" and demanded that they deliver up the perpetrators of the afore-mentioned outrages, which they promised positively should be done; but before sufficient time had elapsed for them to fulfill their promises, the troops were in the field and the Indians in flight. The Kiowa and Comanche Indians, up to the present have been at peace, and I have no doubt they will soon join the Cheyennes and thus create a general Indian war. My reasons for believing that the Kiowas and Comanches will this late in the season, engage in this struggle, are, that I do not see how they can possibly do otherwise, in consequence of their having been instructed some months since to assemble on the Arkansas for the purpose of waiting to see their agent and receive their annuities. They have been waiting for months in a state of destitution, and no agent or goods had made their appearance up to the latter part of last month; they are then told, without seeing their agent or receiving their goods, to leave and go south immediately; to travel right through the country where there are troops in pursuit of hostile Indians, and with whom it would be impossible to tell a Kiowa from a Cheyenne. The consequence will be that all the tribes of the Upper Arkansas will before long be engaged in hostilities.

I have the honor to be, with much respect, your obedient
E. W. WYNKOOP,
United States Indian Agent.

After reading the letter, Col. Tappan continued his remarks, as follows:

"I submit to the Commission if the Cheyennes, Arrapahoes, Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches can justly be charged with the first violation of their treaty. I submit if it is not for the interest of those Indians, under existing circumstances, to go to war. I ask if it is not absolutely necessary for them, in self-preservation, to wage war against us. I ask if our own Government and people are not responsible parties to the present outbreak. From the best information I can obtain, the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches went upon their reservations in accordance with the treaty made at Medicine Lodge Creek, and remained there as long as our Government complied with the terms of the said treaty. Some of them are there now, and seem determined to remain, even at the risk of starvation, still depending upon the government to furnish them with supplies as promised.

Perhaps it will be well to refer briefly to the various reports that the Commission have supplied the Indians with Henry and other breech-loading rifles and revolvers. We have supplied them with a small quantity of hunting or Lancaster rifles, muzzle-loading, just what they want on the hunt, but rarely, if ever used by them in war. In times of peace Indians never have any trouble to obtain, in exchange for ponies, robes, etc., from settlers and travellers, arms and ammunition of the best quality."

The following noble letter to the "Indian Peace Commission" from Bishop Whipple, also speaks for itself and is a splendid illustration of a truly "Christian" spirit:

LETTER OF BISHOP WHIPPLE.

TREMONT HOUSE, Oct. 7th.

GENTLEMEN: I write to you freely as to a Commission appointed by the nation to examine and redress the wrongs which have been inflicted upon the Indians, who are the wards of the government. Your Commission was appointed at the earnest request of Christian men who have vainly attempted to secure justice to the Indians. To you we all look and of you the nation will require a strict account. I feel the more keenly this history of shame, because it casts a foul blot on the nation's honor—because I believe God is just and will require that we shall reap exactly what we sow. The sad experience of a century ought to teach us that where robbery and wrong is the seed, blood will be the harvest. I am aware of the fearful clamor of vengeance which rises along our border. I know by the bitterness of our own experience the horrors of savage warfare. I have too many friends in nameless graves to offer one plea for savage violence. But even this does not and cannot release us from the claims of justice, of humanity, and of our fear of God. We are writing history, and as true as God's words are true, if we continue the course we have followed, his curse will fall on us and our children. There is no question that our Indian system is a blunder more than a crime, because its glaring evils would have been redressed if it had ever been been calmly considered. We recognize them as nations, we pledge them our faith, we enter on solemn treaties, and these treaties are ratified, as with all foreign powers, by the highest authority in the nation. You know, every man who ever looked into our Indian affairs knows, it is a shameful lie. The treaties are often conceived in fraud, and made solely to put money into some white man's pocket. We then send them agents, knowing at the time we send them that they must steal—that they cannot and will not live on the pittance of salary. The agent and employés are appointed as a political reward for party service. Then follow fraud in contracts, pilfery in annuities, violations of solemn pledges, frequent removals; the savage, left without law to protect, with no incentive to labor, with harpies to plunder, vice and crime holding a carnival of death, until, maddened with frenzy, he wreaks his vengeance on the innocent people of the border. Then follow our vain attempts at redress. Instead of calmly looking at the causes of the war and redressing the wrong, we Christian men wage a blind war, often destroying our own friends, and it has happened that we have wantonly murdered helpless women and children. We spend millions; we kill ten of our people to one Indian, and finally settle down on the devil's own idea that our only hope is in extermination. There is one Being who can exterminate, and a nation with a half million of graves, over which the grass has hardly grown ought to learn this truth. I admit all that you can say of difficulty. But I do know that if we give God the will, He will find us the way. The army may and must protect our people. It is a false protection if they repeat scenes which have taken place, and which only served to rouse into tenfold more of hate all the passions of a savage race. In many instances, if time were given, or if friendly Indians were employed, the murderers would be given up by the Indians themselves; and if not, we should only war on the guilty. The people know that it is cheaper to feed than to fight the Indians. There is a great heart in the Saxon race which, although slow to act, will redress wrongs. The Indians can be taught to labor; they can receive the Gospel. I know of no histories among our own race of greater fidelity than some of these poor Indians during the war. I will not detain you longer, if you will allow me, I will forward to you in writing the details of the history of the Sioux war, and the operations of the Indian system in Minnesota, which I made verbally to day. Permit me to assure you of the sympathy, the aid, and the prayers of many who pity the helpless, and who believe their cry ascends to God. Yours, respectfully,

H. B. WHIPPLE.

After a careful perusal of these documents, can any one *doubt* that the whole blame of the present war rests with our own government or its agents? *One tenth of the cause* which these Indians have for war would produce a riot in New York, or a war between any two "Christian" nations in the world. If broken pledges, unfulfilled promises, and starvation do not constitute a *causus belli*, it is impossible to decide *what would* be sufficient pretext for war. And if the depredations, perhaps wonton, of a *few* Indians, of one or two tribes, can justify us in a *war of extermination* of all the tribes west of the Mississippi, then we might as well make war with England because some of her subjects violate our laws, or engage in *universal* conflict, because there is a revolution in Spain. Gen. Sherman proposes a "War of Extermination" and forthwith, "Christian" statesmen, "Christian" clergy and the "Christian" press, urge on the cry. As though there never was to be *Retribution*. In all fairness, we have but to do by the Indians simply what we have *promised*, and on the frontier as well as further South, our leader can call us by the magic of his words "Let us have peace."

CORA L. V. DANIELS.

ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN WAR.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 15th, 1868.

Col. Tappan, member of the Indian Peace Commission, has just returned to this city, and reports that all the Indians represented by those who have met the Commission in council during the present year, together with those with whom Commissioners Auger and Cullen treated, numbering in all about 70,000, are at peace, carrying out the plans and purposes of the Commission, all having either gone upon the reservations set apart for them, or are on their way to them. Col. Tappan says that this has been accomplished simply because the Commissioners have been enabled by the Government, army, and people, to carry out in a measure their part of the contract, while on the other hand the 5,000 or 6,000 men, women, and children of the Cheyennes, Comanches, Apaches, Arrapahoes, and Kiowas, whom the Peace Commission met over a year ago, are declared to be at war with the United States. Our army is operating on the plains against them. This state of affairs has resulted from the failure of our Government to carry out its treaty agreement, and from the consequent necessity which compels the Indians to go upon the war-path as their only means of self-preservation and safety. Col. Tappan also reports that he has recently returned from the seat of the Canadian Government at Ottawa, where he examined their mode of administering Indian affairs and its results, that his investigation confirms his convictions, derived from a long residence in the Indian country, and from official intercourse with the Indians, that they are as easily managed, governed, and civilized as any other people, provided justice is done and the protection of law is secured to them, as it is in Canada. Our trouble has resulted from the fact that our policy makes the Indian an outlaw and vagabond, a victim of political speculators, and of combinations whose purpose is to rob the National Treasury and destroy the Indians, acquire lands, and attain wealth and power.—*Wash. Cor. N. Y. Tribune.*

NOW IS THE TIME.

To the Republicans in Congress:

GENTLEMEN:—You have enfranchised the colored people residing in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. The citizens of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa and Tennessee have stricken the color qualification from their State constitutions. In the other States, including Kentucky and Maryland, the foundation principle of our government, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governned," is entirely ignored, and in the eleven Southern States a powerful party, backed by the Northern Democracy, is struggling to disfranchise those you have enfranchised.

It seems to me that the time has come for us to determine to be a nation of hypocrites no longer. We should engraft our principles upon our constitution and laws or distinctly repudiate them. For fifty years the "negro" has been the foremost figure in American politics, simply because American politicians insisted upon robbing him of his rights, and he will continue to monopolize attention until we forget that he is a "negro" and remember only that he is a man.

The conscience of the nation has led the Republican party far in the right direction, but much yet remains to be done. Slavery has been abolished, all colored people have been declared citizens and many have been enfranchised, but this settles nothing while millions groan under laws they had no part or lot in making. The traveler may climb up the mountain side for thousands of feet, but he sees not the beautiful prospect beyond till he treads the summit. The Republican party has mounted high but it must stand upon the broad plateau of universal right and deal justly by *all* citizens before its eyes can gaze upon a truly peaceful and happy people.

Can we secure the desired result by trusting to state action? Possibly, in the course of fifty years—but can we afford to wait that long? I think not. We—especially at the South—need peace, and peace is impossible while one-half the people are trying to disfranchise or prevent the enfranchisement of the other half. With us, the party of reaction is so strong that it will struggle for years, and in some States may temporarily triumph, while in the North decades will roll by before justice is done.

It is in your power, gentlemen, to secure the speedy *and permanent* triumph of the right. What is needed is the adoption of an amendment to the constitution of the United States prohibiting the disfranchisement of any man on account of race, color or previous condition. The incorporation of such an amendment into the United States constitution would enfranchise the colored people of the black-law States, and stop all attempts to disfranchise them where they are now allowed to vote. It would "take the negro out of politics—for he would have no more wrongs to right—and enable the statesmen and people of the nation to devote their attention exclusively to questions of finance and development.

My reason for urging this matter upon your attention at this time is that whatever is done must be done quickly. The Republicans will not have a two-thirds majority in the next Congress, and if the amendment is not adopted this winter there is no telling when it can be. It, therefore, behooves the friends of freedom to lose no time—trying to get for themselves individual renown as the father of the phrascology. A committee appointed by a joint caucus could settle the wording in a few hours, and a few weeks would be time enough to spend in debate.

Another reason for speedy action is that three-fourths of the State legislatures are now Republican, and if the amendment is submitted to them by the middle of January, as it easily can be, it would be ratified by the necessary number of States before the end of the year, and thus be irrevocably settled before the ensuing canvass.

What say you, gentlemen? Will you "let us have peace," by settling this vexed question, once and forever, and that promptly? Or will you vascillate and gas until the last days of the session, after the legislatures shall have adjourned? You need not be afraid that the people would not sustain you, for they have grown rapidly during the past year. Moreover, when the Northern States voted down colored suffrage it was largely for fear that its adoption would be followed by a large influx of colored people from less liberal States. It is altogether probable that Ohio would gladly consent to a measure which would secure the ballot to the colored people of Kentucky as well. If you do not believe it, try it and see. Minnesota rejected impartial suffrage last year but accepted it last Tuesday. "*Let us have peace.*"

ALBERT GRIFFEN.

MOBILE, Nov., 10, 1868.

NASBY ON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

THE NEWS REACHES KENTUCKY—THE X ROADS IN MOURNING.

POST OFFIS, CONFEDERIT X ROADS,
(Wich is in the State uv Kentucky,)
November 5, 1868.

BAD news travels fast. We hev heerd from enuff of the States to know that the butcher—Grant—he wich wunst afore stood in the way of the Confederacy—hez been elected President—and that Seymore and Blare, our gellorious standard-bearers, hev bin defeated ignominously.

This ends it! This finishes it! There is no longer hope for Democrisy. Our star is sot in gloom. Never shel I forgit the ghastly appearance uv Deekin Pogram's face, ez the fatal nooze wuz told him. A single tear rolled from his left eye, down his furrowed cheek—it glittered for a brief moment on the tip uv his brillyant nose, and plunged off into space! How like our hopes! Never a word sed he, but sadly beckoned me to foller. Sadly he walked to the square, mournfully he puled down the Confedrit flag wich hez waved from the pole in front of Bascom's, tenderly he folded it, and placed it under the barl uv whisky in the bar. "Thar let it rest," gasped he in a husky tone, "it will never kiss the breezes no more." And overcome with emoshun, the good old man busted into a flood uv teers wich saved his life. The drain uv moisture from his system made it necessary for him to take suthin to fill its place, and that suthin was strengthnin. To save him I took suthin strengthnin too.

And Ben Butler is elected. That excellent Conservative, Richard H. Dana, who has forgotten that ruffled shirts went out uv existence twenty yeers ago, and who still reads the *Nashnel Intelligencer*, sposin it to be a Whig paper, is defeated, and Butler, who wunst hung a Democrat in Noo Orleens and who wood do that same every mornin to give him an appetite, is fastened onto this here wunst happy but now distractid country for two yeers more. Grashus Hevins! send the yaller fever to the Corners now, and finish us up to wunst.

I won't say a word ez to the causes uv this most terrible defeat. Seymore wood make speeches, wich hez alluz bin fatle to Presidenshul aspirants, and Blare wood write terrible letters, wich is just ez bad. Besides, Blare fairly represents us, wich druv off all the decent people, and Seymore rather prides hisself on bein a gentleman, wich chilled the ardor of our own party. The nominashens were unforchnit, but I don't reproach 'em. It's fate.

I sigh, Deekin Pogram sighs, and the rest uv our cirkle wood sigh, only they hevn't returned from Injeany, where they hev gone to vote in the interest uv the Constitooshen, and to aid in the maintenance of the laws.

Sigh! I hev reason to sigh. For Pollok will git the Post offis after all. Tho his hands are contaminated by bein taken into the hands uv niggers—his hands wich handles kaliker and draws molassas, and is consekently degraded by earnin his own livin—his hands will pass out to Deekin Pogram the papers wich the Corners takes! The Deekin, ez he thought uv this, bust into teers agin. "I shel stop that paper," sez he, "and the Corners shel go back into the darknis of ignerance. I shel never agin go for a letter—nor will I ever hev one written for me to anybody. When a Ablishn face is at the general delivery I shel stop paternizin the Post offis!"

Will the new Administrashun deprive a whole community uv a paper merely to give one uv its supporters a posishun? We shel see.

But, I cood endoor the loss uv my posishen—for prinsiple I kin look marterdom squarely in the face—but I see other and more terrible results followin this catastrophe.

Wat uv the niggers? Wat uv us? We shel hev niggers votin at the Corners! We shel hev at our poles, all uv the black cusses who live between here and Garrettstown, a voting ez regler ez though they wuz white men. We shel hev em defilin the sakred ballot-box ez tho they wuz not uv a cussid race. I see dark lines afore our poor State. They will hereafter hold the land wich they hev bought, and wich they live on, by a shure tenure, and they will increase and multiply. Pollock will buy ther prodoose and they will work and get money. This money they will lend to us—for we must hev it to sustain life—and they will take morgages onto our land. (When I say *our*, I mean Deekin Pogram and sich). Ez we never work ourselves, and will not hev, under the present arraugement, the means uv compellin the labor necessary to our support, we kin never pay; and the result will be, this beautiful land uv ourn wich we so deerly love, will pass out uv the hands of the stronger and better race into the control uv a weaker and less powerful people.

The Deekin was remarkin suthin to this effect, when Joe Bigler remarkt in reply, that the Deekin had better throw himself onto the sympathy uv his sons.

"Why, they can't work any more than I kin," sed the Deekin.

"I don't mean yoor white sons!" sed this terrible Bigler. "*They* ain't uv no akkount. But in the nigger settlement at Garrettstown yoo hev more than twenty who wood."

The poor Deekin rushed out uv the room, while Bigler laft his most fiendish laff.

The people will be deprived uv ther innocent amoosements. This Grant will send on armed birelins, clothed in ojus bloo, with muskets and sich, who will prevent our shootin niggers, and who will perfect on ther farms and in ther shops the ojus Northerners who hev settled in our midst. We shel see the gellorious Southern system decline stidily and shoorly. The whippin-posts will rot and the stox will decay—the yelp uv dorgs will no more be heerd, and the cheerful crack uv the pistol and the shreek uv the man what has got his gruel will no more be heerd in all the land. Bascom, after he hez the few farms still unmorgaged in the visinity, will close, and go to Loolsville and embark into a wholesale grosery trade and jine the church, and give liberally to Sundy-skools; his grosery will fall into dekay and the sine will hang by one hinge. We shell see churches and skool-houses, factrys and villages everywhere.

Wat uv the niggers? Wy, they will be the bustlin Noo Yorker, the cool, calculatin Yankee, the stiddy, hard-workin German—who will display his grovelin nacher by workin himself instid uv forcin niggers to do it for him. We shell be run over with skool-marms, deluged with academies, plastered over with noosepapers, stunned with machinery, drove crazy by the whirr, crash and clash mowin machines and reapers. And ther will be cheese made at the Corners. Pennibacker's distillery will be turned into a cheese factry, and weak whey will run wher now the generous high-wines flash along the troughs. Ther will be no rectifyin at the Corners—the hog-pens will be abolished, and in ther sted will be skool-houses. And methinks I see in my mind's eye Horasho, the sperit, the ghost uv the departed Pogram (for he won't survive it long), a hoverin over the scene, ez Hamlick's father did. The blessed shade will look in vain for his house—on the spot wher it stood will be an academy.

He will turn to Bascom's, but there he will find a deestrict skule. "To Pennibacker's!" he will gasp in a sperit whisper, and with a speritooal smack uv his speritooal lips he will hover over it, but the smell uv cheese in the place uv the strengthenin odors in wich he delites, will send a speritooal shudder thro him. A gost uv a tear will run down his speritooal nose, linger for a minnit at the tip like a dew drop on the rose, and fall! Then will the dissatisfied gost demand to be taken back to purgatory, a place less trying to his nerves.

Deekin Pogram hez only britened up wunst. A thot flashed over his mind wich gave him comfort for a minnit. "Isn't ther a Booth for Grant ez ther wuz for Linkin?" askt he.

The Pogram place uv 2000 akers will be divided

"Ah!" sed I, in alarm, "wood you kill Grant to hev Colfax in his place? We mite kill Colfax, say you. Alars! sposin they'd elect Sumner ez President uv the Senit! Kill Sumner? Good Lord, no! They'd then elect Butler Speaker uv the House, and he can't be killed. No! No! We hed better bear the ills we hev than to fly to them we know not uv. It's gone. All is up with me and us. I shel stay in Kentucky for the present, tho wat may become uv me the Lord only knows."

PETROLEUM V. NASBY, P. M.
(Wich is Postmaster).

THE SOUTH.

THE FREEDMEN OF TEXAS.

DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF THINGS IN THAT STATE.

REPORT OF MAJOR-GEN. REYNOLDS.

THE annual report of Major Gen. J. J. Reynolds, on freedmen's affairs in Texas, sets forth the deplorable condition of things in that State, with terrible force. It is dated at Austin on the 20th of October, 1868, and we have received a copy from our Washington correspondent, of which we present the material portions which are as follows:

My constant aim has been to give to the freed people of the State all the protection possible with the means at my disposal, and at the same time to leave them free to act for themselves in all things pertaining to their material welfare. In all matters of contracts, whether for wages or for a portion of the crops, and in the disposal of the results of their labor, I have exercised no control, save in so far as they would be guided by the advice and counsel of the Sub-Assistant Commissioners. The freed people look to them for this, and are generally governed by it.

The greatest difficulty I labor under, as I have often before represented, is in securing the freed people justice in cases of a criminal nature. I have used every means I could employ to educate and force the civil authorities up to doing something near their duty, but the sentiment of the entire people is so demoralized, and they are so specially averse to recognizing the equality of the negro before the law, that I cannot report any very great amount of progress in that direction. Owing to this condition of affairs, I have been compelled in many instances to authorize Sub-Assist. Commissioners to arrest, try and punish certain classes of offenses committed upon the freed people. While the civil authorities and the citizens so signally fail in punishing those of the white race who commit offenses upon the freed people they are ever ready, and, in fact, over zealous in administering the law to its fullest extent when the accused is of the freed race. Punishment generally follows the offense swiftly and surely. Offenses which, when committed by the whites are daily passed by without notice, become crimes of greater or less magnitude when committed by them.

Of the many hundreds of freed people killed since the close of the war, I know of no instance where punishment has followed the perpetration of the crime when the author was of the white race. There is, in fact, no punishment for the perpetration of homicides when the guilty party is of the white race. It does not matter whether the victim is white or black, by some hook or crook the law is evaded and the guilty party goes unpunished.

The demoralized condition of the sentiment of the whole people—their total disregard for law and order—their intolerance of opinions differing from their own, and the light value they place upon human life has so often been brought to your notice by myself and predecessors that to say more upon a subject that has already become so notorious throughout the length and breadth of the land, seems like idle repetition. I drop this subject without further remark, and invite your attention to the evidence contained in the extracts from reports of Sub-Assistant Commissioners which have been forwarded to you from time to time—especially those for the months of July, August and September—and to the annexed report of the Inspector of the Bureau, Wm. H. Sinclair, prepared from the records of his office. It is not claimed that this report is complete. From a variety of causes it would be impossible to make it so. No systematic method was adopted for obtaining information until about eighteen months ago. Ever since agents have been required to make reports, from which the subjoined statement has been collated. All the cases have not been reported. The State is so large, agents so widely scattered, and the means of obtaining information so few and unreliable, it cannot be done. The records from which the report is prepared give statements in detail, showing causes which actuated the perpetrators of many of these crimes, and the circumstances of cruelty and torture attending them, of a most revolting and fiendish character.

The report of Inspector Sinclair, to which allusion is made, shows that from the close of the war to the 30th of September, 1868, the following figures: murders of freed people by persons whose color is unknown 27; of freed people by whites 464; of whites by whites 253; whites by persons of unknown color 11; of whites by freed people 6; total officially reported, 761. Whites shot and stabbed, but not killed, 56; negroes, shot and stabbed, but not killed, 214; bureau agents killed 6; Negroes whipped 158; whites none. Number of persons hung by civil authorities only 1, a freedman.

The feeling among the planters and the freed people in the cotton and cane region, *i. e.*, the Southern portion of the State, is much better than heretofore, while in the Northern and Eastern portions of the State the reverse is the case. Every day reports reach me of the killing of Union men or freed people, and of their having been, when not killed, driven from their homes by acts of violence and warnings as to their fate if they did not leave.

Gen. Reynolds embodies in his report that of his Superintendent of education, from which we make the following extract:

"Much difficulty is experienced in obtaining and supporting competent and efficient teachers, owing to the bitterness of the prejudice which still exists against the education of the colored people. It is almost impossible to obtain boarding places for those engaged in the work, especially in the case of ladies who may be sent by the missionary societies of the North. And after parties may be found who will bear the odium of boarding 'nigger teachers,' as they are termed, there is no protection, civil or military, against the cowardly insults to which they are subjected, and in enduring which there is no sympathy or encouragement on the part of those who, in other respects, are loyal to the government. It is the conviction of the Superintendent that upon the subject of education of the freedmen, there is but little difference in sentiment among the great mass of the people, between those who are loyal and those who are not.

The teachers furnished by the American Missionary Association, who are very faithful and competent, went home at the close of June, and I have not heard of their intended return. Their places have been supplied by the best material that could be obtained, and though very much inferior to the missionary teachers, it is, in the mind of the Superintendent, of doubtful propriety to ask for their return in the present disturbed state of the public mind.

It would be very desirable and of great service if the Association could send us some male teachers, as homes could be found with less difficulty, and they would be less exposed to insult and outrage.

As an indication of the extent of the opposition met with in our work, I submit the following cases from official information in my possession:

A prosperous school at Circleville, Williamson County, under the care of Miss Louana Eggleston, a young colored lady of experience and discretion, was closed by the burning of the house on Saturday night, the 27th of June, no fire having been used in or near the building.

At Clarksville, Red River County, a school in charge of the Rev. Charles Goldberg, a Presbyterian clergyman, was broken up by a band of young men calling themselves Ku-Klux, and Mr. Goldberg compelled to leave the State.

At Kaufman, Kaufman County, the school-house was nearly destroyed by being beaten down July 23d, and an attempt was made to assassinate the teacher, Mr. Maier, who escaped into Missouri.

At Millican, Brazos County, a flourishing school, taught by Rev. J. Hensley and wife, was broken up by the riot of July, and the teachers compelled to leave to save their lives.

I have just been informed by the Sub-Assistant Commissioner at Waco, of the murder of one of our teachers in Falls County, and that another in Basque County had been run off and compelled to seek safety in Waco. I have also to-day been called upon by the teacher from Jefferson, Marion County, who closed his school for safety and left a few days previous to the recent murderous outbreak in that town.

KENTUCKY.

THE DISORDERED CONDITION OF AFFAIRS—KU-KLUX OUTRAGES STILL PERPETRATED.

From the Kentucky Statesman, Nov. 14th.

THE condition of affairs in many parts of this State is so rapidly tending to a point that may culminate in an open outbreak between at least a portion of the citizens of this Commonwealth, that it behooves peaceably-disposed and well-meaning people to take such action as will remove the incentive cause of trouble, and thus secure tranquility throughout the State. We have numbers of letters, written by persons personally known to us as honorable and of high standing, giving detailed accounts of the many petty annoyances, insults and such like they are subjected to on account of their political opinions, to say nothing of the less frequent but more serious outbreaks that are not always unaccompanied with murder and arson. In many instances business and social proscription are carried to the furthest extent.

This, however, culpable as it may appear to some, we do not propose to speak of, as every one has a perfect right to do business with whom he chooses, and select his own associates. But to insult, browbeat, or attempt to change a man's political convictions through intimidation or any other means than that of argument through an appeal to reason, is wholly at variance with every sense of propriety, justice and the spirit of our institutions. In a Republic, the humblest citizen should receive exactly the same protection in person and property as the most exalted. There can be no just administration of the laws if this principle be lost sight of. "All men are created free and equal," are the words of the immortal Declaration of Independence. We entertain our own peculiar political views, and are honest in our convictions. We believe that if carried out to their logical conclusions, they will secure the greatest good to the greatest number. We accord a like honesty of purpose to our opponents that we demand for ourselves.

We claim it as right, inalienable and incontrovertible for every American citizen to be able to speak or write his sentiments, whatever they may be, in any part of this broad land, being amenable only to the laws of the country for any transgression of their provisions. Such is not the case at present in Kentucky, but it soon will be. 'Tis the province of the officials of the State to take cognizance of a violation of the law. If a man steals, commits arson, murder, or any other offense against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth, the law prescribes the mode, manner and measure of his punishment. Any punishment meted out to a culprit, however guilty he may be, by any other persons than those properly authorized and in the manner prescribed by law, become themselves transgressors of that law, and render themselves liable to a punishment commensurate with their crime.

In conclusion, we have a few sober words for all who love the State, and would see her peaceful and prosperous. We have the terrible lessons

before us of Tennessee and Missouri. No good citizen would spare any effort to avert from Kentucky a similar state of affairs. Kentucky has been and still is the scene of many disorders and outrages. But matters can be made much worse, and nothing is surer to bring it about than the course now being pursued by persons calling themselves the Ku-Klux, Regulators and such like. Every man, woman and child in the State is more or less interested in suppressing these organizations and restoring peace and quiet. Unless it is done, and done speedily, our word for it, there will be an internal commotion that will shake this State to its very foundation.

Lawlessness has gone to such an extent that many Union men do not feel that security the law should give them. They will never be the transgressors. They will always be found on the side of peace, law and order; but they are not unprepared for the reverse. They are alive to their dangers, and fully feel their ability to avert them. We neither intend to alarm nor threaten. Far from it. But we reiterate, in the most emphatic terms, that we, the Union people, intend to have more peace in this State, or a great deal less of it.

A SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

From the Boston Advertiser.

THE discussion of a new amendment to the Constitution to secure uniform and impartial suffrage throughout the Union has already taken a wide range. The enforcement of the rule as one of the conditions of reconstruction in some States, and its voluntary adoption by others, has removed most of the complications which made the question seem difficult at an earlier date. Now it is necessary, and is about the only thing that is necessary, to complete the beneficent series of amendments by which liberty has been won and its guarantees slowly and cautiously secured. There is no doubt that in the progress of events all the States would of their own accord remove the groundless, illogical and unjust discriminations which still rest heavily upon a comparatively small part of their citizens. But it is better in the present stage of the question in controversy that it should be settled once for all, and in a manner to which no constitutional or reasonable scruples of any kind can apply. Some of the States move very slowly; others show a disposition to take the back track, and would undoubtedly do so if by any fatality the political control should fall into the hands of unfit men. For the present, at least, there is neither uniformity, certainty, nor precision in a matter which affects the rights of citizens vitally, and it ought not to be left to the chances of political fluctuation any longer.

One of the great political epochs in this country is about to close. It depends upon the wisdom of the new administration, but very much also upon the discretion of the States which hold an equivocal position on this subject—which confess the right but still the wrong pursue—whether it closes in such a manner as to leave behind an inheritance of unsettled and disturbing questions or not. The rule of impartial suffrage cannot be maintained in Georgia while it is denied in Missouri. The restless and unsatisfied people of Texas will not quietly acquiesce in a scheme which Connecticut has the privilege of postponing to the day of doom. We may force the scheme upon turbulent and unwilling people; but we shall not reconcile them to it while there is one rule for one section of the country, and a different rule for the other. Let all the States rest on the same basis, and that one of equal rights. There will be no end of agitation, of the reviving of old controversies, of the subordination of great practical interests, till this question is put at rest. It has held its place to the exclusion of other interests too long already, because so many republicans have thought it could be shuffled out of sight, or disposed of at half its value. But questions involving considerations of right and wrong are not so settled.

It is not necessary to advocate such a measure merely as a political expedient. The common sense of mankind is superior to all political considerations; and that is against the absurd discrimination which our laws permit. The experience of liberal governments, and in such governments the experience of the States most Democratic in their organization, has shown that it is better for the public and better for the citizen, that the power should be as widely distributed and and as equally shared as it can be in the nature of things. The ballot is an efficient regulator. No civilized community ever suffered, or ever could suffer by the honest use of it. Chinese walls, dividing communities into classes, and perpetuating distinctions among those who have a common claim to whatever privilege governments can bestow, and to whatever rights they can secure, have done vastly greater mischief. Whatever limitations Congress might in this instance see fit to put upon the exercise of the elective franchise, it should at least be universal, and should be within the power of every citizen to overcome.

THE BONE OF CONTENTION.

From the Norristown (Pa.,) Independent.

The ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD of November 7th, in an Editorial entitled "The Result—The Future," says in relation to the "Vexed Negro Question:" —"The full solution of that problem was most unwisely and needlessly postponed by the action of Congress, through the imperfection of the reconstruction laws, and by the Chicago Convention." Viewed as a matter of abstract right, the established stand-point of that high-toned journal—this is undoubtedly the case. But we are reminded by one of the most earnest and learned expounders of truth of whom we have any record, that there are many things which are right that are not expedient, and, regarded in the light of expediency, the complete and final solution of this problem will perhaps be more in place in the early Future than it would have been in the Past. We are therefore among those who hail as an omen of coming good both to our Republic and the Republican party, the anticipated movement of the Fortieth Congress, on its assembling in December next, to adopt a Constitutional Amendment for the regulation of suffrage throughout the United States; and desire that the sanguine expectations of our friends in regard thereto, may be realized at no distant day. For aside from the justness of the act, the self-evident truth that until the manhood and political equality of the negro is everywhere established he will continue to be a disturbing element in our politics should be an incontrovertible argument in its favor. And while we claim that no individuals, of whatever race or nation, are equal in physical and mental capacity, and assert as our opinion that help to the Freedmen *as a class* however necessary in the Past is now becoming rather a bane than a blessing, we would ask and obtain for them and their entire race, equal rights before the law, and then leave them to solve the great problem of existence by the same formula as that awarded to their cotemporaries.

Impartial suffrage throughout our entire Union is what is now to be considered; since justice and the national honor forbid that there should be one policy for one section and a different policy for another. The assertion of our lamented Statesman, Thaddeus Stevens, that whatever might be the right of States over State citzenship, they have no authority to distranchise citizens of the United States from voting, is both just and wise. And in the language of his faithful compeer in the Senate, we would say—"When shall this great question be settled if not now? Why wait? Why prolong the agony? There is only one way in which it can be settled. Why not at once? Only in this way can the Declaration of Independence be vindicated in its self evident truths."

CRETAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

THE pluck and persistence of the Cretans have excited the admiration of the world. Their intelligent purpose, their perfect self-government, and their careful observance of all those forms by which civilized people administer justice, would, if widely known, challenge equal admiration.

They were never a seditious and rebellious people. They bore the Turkish yoke as long as human patience could endure. Then they formally protested. Then they rose up in general and open insurrection, and fought until induced to submit by fair and lying promises. This they have done several times.

Their last insurrection was purposely revolutionary from the beginning. They would never trust the Turks again. Never! They would be free, or die.

They took all their measures with a view to final independence. They organized a government; framed and published constitution and laws; and chose representatives for every district. These formed themselves into an Assembly, which has held regular sessions, and carefully observed all the forms of law.

Not a single province of all Turkey has been governed with half so much intelligence, order, and justice, as Crete has been by its armed and houseless inhabitants, even while the storm of war was sweeping over the island. Legally, socially, morally, the insurrection has become a revolution.

The Cretans now seek a place among acknowledged Christian nations. They instinctively turn first to America; because, during the two dark and dreadful years of their stuggle for independence, they received no token of sympathy, no proof of good will, from European governments; while from across the Atlantic came a cheering voice, and a helping hand.

They have shown their intelligence by appointing Mr. Julius Bing, a Citizen of the United States, and formerly consul at Smyrna, as their diplomatic agent. He is in every way worthy of the high office; and if our State Department has any regard for the fitness of things, and for the public wishes, he will be recognized.—*The Cretan for November.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1868.

SPECIAL PREMIUM.—PHOTOGRAPH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WE have arranged to offer as a premium for subscribers for THE STANDARD a life-like, beautifully finished, medium sized photograph of WENDELL PHILLIPS, made for us by a distinguished Boston artist. We have had many calls for photographs of Mr. Phillips, suitable for framing, which we have hitherto been unable to supply. We have at last a likeness of him which we pronounce eminently satisfactory, and which we think will prove to be so to his many friends by whom it will be desired. Each photograph will have also Mr. Phillips' autograph. To all our subscribers who renew their own subscriptions and remit for one new subscriber ($6); or to any one who sends us the names of two new subscribers for one year ($6), we will forward, post paid, a copy of Mr. Phillips' photograph, the retail price of which is $2.50.

WE will send post-paid, to any one renewing a subscription for THE STANDARD and sending one new subscriber ($6); or remitting for two new subscribers ($6), a copy of ANNA E. DICKINSON's new book, 301 pages, just issued by Messrs. Ticknor and Fields, entitled "WHAT ANSWER?" As with her voice, so with her pen, Miss Dickinson pleads eloquently the cause of the still oppressed colored people. The story is one of thrilling interest, characterized by a noble purpose and high moral tone. It deserves, and will doubtless achieve, a wide circulation. Our premium offer puts it within easy reach of thousands.

THE FORTIETH CONGRESS—ITS OPPORTUNITY.

A LITTLE more than a week hence the Fortieth Congress will reassemble. This, its last session, will end on the fourth of March next. Its remaining opportunity, though brief, is sufficient, if well improved, to enable it to measurably atone for many sins both of omission and commission.

Though Andrew Johnson, in the eye of impartial history, will be regarded as President during these last months of his accidental term, only through fraud, we reiterate what we have many times urged, that it is the duty of Congress, reinforced by loyal Senators and Representatives from the South, to re-arraign and depose him from office at the beginning of the approaching session. In Kentucky, in Texas, Louisiana and elsewhere, the murderous Ku-Klux warfare still continues, and if a single additional murder can be prevented he should be promptly removed from office. Nor is the censure of the two-third vote of the House of Representatives and of the large majority of the Senate at his last trial a sufficient vindication of the compromised honor of the nation, and of that feature of the Constitution which enjoins upon Congress the duty of removing from office an incompetent or utterly untrustworthy Executive. If the thousands of murdered loyalists for whose lives he is responsible cannot now be restored by his deposition from office, others not a few may be spared during the intervening months from this to the fourth of March, and yet many more in some future period in our history if the right precedent be now established in dealing with a treasonable, reckless, and usurping Executive.

We hope Southern members who have been and are in the breach between treason and loyalty and who, even now, must needs take their lives in their hands to journey without military escort from their homes to Washington, will listen to no timid appeals from conservative Northern members not to agitate the Impeachment question again, but will move promptly for Mr. Johnson's removal from office. We would not have other important business, which we desire accomplished during the session, delayed. Nor need it be. In the judgment of the American people, and of the Senate of the United States as now constituted, counting Fessenden, Ross & Co., as before with Rebels and Copperheads, the evidence already taken and summed up, is ample justification for a brief trial and a speedy deposition from office, without again traversing the whole ground already so thoroughly gone over.

Of the adoption of some amendment of the Constitution forbidding disfranchisement on account of race or color, there is now strong probability. Nor will this measure require prolonged debate. The principle involved has already been the subject of much exhaustive argument in connection with the question of reconstruction. The Border States containing many returned rebels who joined their fortunes with the Southern Confederacy, and fought with its armies while they could be maintained in the field, relentlessly disfranchise more than six hundred thousand colored men. If the colored men were in either the Southern reconstructed States, or in New England (anywhere except Connecticut,) they could vote. Among these hundreds of thousands of colored men are also many soldiers. Unlike their white neighbors they fought bravely, in a time of great need, in the ranks of the loyal armies. The nation owes it to these men to put ballots in their hands in place of the bayonets they have held and laid aside. Republican government should, by the terms of the Constitution, as already written, be guaranteed in every State of the Union. In the Border States and those Northern States wherein colored citizens are still disfranchised simply because of the incident of color, Republican government cannot be said truthfully to exist. That there may hereafter be no doubt or quibbling, let the constitution be supplemented by a distinct amendment forbidding any abridgment of political rights or privileges on the ground of race, or color. This action on the part of Congress now would undoubtedly be ratified by the legislatures already chosen, or soon to be elected. The greatest danger will arise from the probable attempt of timid conservatives and go-betweens to engraft some partial condition, of property or other qualification upon the amendment, or to limit its application to national offices only. Now is the golden opportunity to settle permanently the troublesome question of the status of the long suffering colored people in this country, upon the broad basis of a common humanity. Let not the Fortieth Congress for any reason mis-improve it.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

THE New England Woman's Rights Convention, held in Boston last week, as will be seen from the account given of it by our Boston correspondent, was eminently successful. The attendance throughout was large, and the interest of the several sessions well sustained. Many women and men not hitherto actively interested in the cause of woman's enfranchisement, were members of the convention. A permanent organization was formed, to be known as the New England Woman's Suffrage Association. Mrs. JULIA WARD HOWE was chosen president. We present in another column a brief address made by Mrs. Howe in the convention. Though the new organization includes New England as its territory, we understand it will be the policy of its executive committee to concentrate upon Massachusetts. A vigorous campaign will at once be inaugurated, and arrangements are already in progress to have the subject of amending the State Constitution, so as to include women as voters, presented to the Legislature by Wendell Phillips and others, early in the next session.

This New England Convention has, however, at this time more than a sectional importance. Its proceedings have attracted a large measure of attention in all parts of the country, and have a national significance. The growth of the general public sentiment in favor of woman's enfranchisement has been, compared with other reform questions, very rapid. The Convention in Boston has supplied more fully than it had hitherto been met the want of complete, harmonious and effective organization. This will increase public confidence, and secure for the movement a larger and and more efficient cooperation within and out of legislative bodies. Though Mrs. Howe joins the movement after the most difficult pioneer work has been accomplished, we think her interpretation of it, that, as between the sexes, it is one of unity and not of division; that the friends of women are also the friends of men, is as timely as it is truthful. So also of her generous recognition of the pressing claims of the deeply wronged and most cruelly proscribed negro.

We observe that *The World* and a few other Copperhead Journals just now flippantly assume a sort of special championship of the woman question, with a very thinly disguised purpose to so use it as to embarrass the proposed Constitutional amendment for the abolition of race and complexional disfranchisement. *The World* probably cares no more for the rights of woman in general, than for the reputation of its own women compositors whose help it accepted in time of need and afterward, with shameless ingratitude, proceeded to slander as inefficient and incompetent. Its real purpose in its assumed interest in the woman question is indicated in the following concluding paragraph of a recent article on the Boston Convention. It says:

"If the Boston Association would only consent to *let the colored man and brother stand aside* in favor of the white woman and sister, and if Vineland vigorously pushes the "demand" for a recognition of womanhood in the proposed enlargement of suffrage and citizenship, the combined movement *will give Congress and* KELLEY *pause in their intention to force suffrage upon ignorance because it is black*, while the advocates of such suffrage refuse the same privilege, if not right, to intelligent, cultivated, tax-paying women who are white."

While neither of the two parties has as yet made the enfranchisement of women a party issue, the relative position of the two upon the question has in no other instance been so accurately shown as last year in the Constitutional Convention in this State. The claim of woman to the ballot was regularly before that body and very ably and eloquently urged by GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS and others who voted as they talked. The Brookses of *The* (Copperhead) *Express*, were also members of the Convention, and had like *The World*, pretended to favor woman suffrage, but were very careful not to vote for it. When the final test vote came, of the eighteen or nineteen votes for the enfranchisement of woman, two or three only were given by so called Democrats, and the balance by Republicans.

We think it well to urge the right of woman to the ballot upon the attention of State legislatures. But of still greater importance do we consider such an amendment of the National Constitution as will recognize and guarantee her equal political rights. As the greater includes the less, so the amendment we urge, forbidding disfranchisement in any State on account of sex, would settle the question in the shortest space of time, and woman, would be recognized as an equal citizen everywhere. The inevitable tendency of public opinion is to national control, and uniformity of suffrage. We hope when Congress assembles, the proposition to abolish the political qualification of sex will be submitted in a distinct, separate amendment. If then the negro-hating "Democrats" are sincere in their advocacy of woman suffrage they will have no shadow of excuse for not voting, with Republicans, for its triumphant adoption.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Reverdy Johnson continues, as he began in England, to insult the good sense and loyalty of the nation he misrepresents, and to excite the indignation and contempt of the true friends of America in England. It is to be hoped that Mr. Sumner and other Republicans who voted for him will make all possible effort to get him recalled at the earliest practicable moment.

The Freedman's Record for November, the organ of the New England Branch of the Freedman's Union Commission, commenting upon the announcement of the managers of the American Freedman's Union Commission of a purpose to disband that association and to discontinue its work among the colored people of the South at the close of the current school year, says:

"We speak advisedly when we say that there never has been a period in our history, when, as our letters show, there has been so great a demand from the South for teachers to the freedmen as now."

We again remind our readers in Pensylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, that the Annual Meeting of the Pensylvania Anti-Slavery Society, and the Annual Festival, will be held in Philadelphia on Thursday, December 10th. Other meetings, the particulars of which are given elsewhere, will be held in towns adjacent to Philadelphia during the week. ☞ Let all who can, arrange to attend these meetings and do all in their power to render them in the largest degree successful.

Affairs in Spain continue remarkably quiet and orderly under the new rule of the revolutionary Junta. The Republican cause seems to be steadily gaining ground. A Madrid telegram of November 24, says:

"The advocates of Republican institutions appear to be gaining ground in Spain. The city of Barcelona favors the establishment of a Federal Republic. Large public meetings have been held in Barcelona by both the Monarchist and the Republican parties. Processions with bands parade the streets, and other demonstrations are made; but though political feeling runs high there, all the proceedings have been peaceable, and order is respected. The Monarchists are largely in the ascendant, though the Republicans seem to be gaining ground. All the political parties in Madrid are preparing to make similar demonstrations, and there is every indication of a lively canvass for the forthcoming elections."

We print herewith a petition to the Fortieth Congress which we commend to our readers for immediate extensive circulation. The Fortieth Congress can, and we trust will, hasten the era of an abiding peace by the early adoption, for the ratification of the State Legislatures of an additional constitutional amendment, forbidding disfranchisement, or proscription from official trust, on account of race or color, in any State or Territory of the Union. Let the petition be numerously signed and promptly forwarded, on the opening of the session to trustworthy, Radical members of Congress:

PETITION.

To the Fortieth Congress of the United States:

The undersigned citizens of ——— earnestly pray your honorable body to adopt an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding any State to make any distinction among its citizens in regard to civil or political rights or privileges, the right to suffrage, or to eligibility to office, on account of race, color or previous condition.

WE print elsewhere an important letter from Mrs. CORA L. V. DANIELS upon Indian Affairs; and a Memorial of the Universal Peace Union upon the same subject, to which we invite attention. The time is at hand when the flagrant outrages and wholesale injustice so long visited upon the Indians should cease. They should be recognized as citizens, and treated no longer as outlaws but as human beings. That they are susceptible of civilization, and naturally and kindly responsive to humane treatment, the history of William Penn's experience, and that of the Society of Friends, with the Indians is a standing, unanswerable testimony.

The Annual Meeting of the New Jersey Woman's Suffrage Association will be held at Vineland, N. J., on Wednesday next, December 2d. Among the speakers announced to attend the meeting are Lucy Stone, Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, Lucretia Mott, Deborah Butler and others. With the good beginning already made in the cause of woman's enfranchisement in Vineland the meeting will doubtless be largely attended, and give a strong additional impulse to the work.

PERSONAL.

Madame Ristori is expected at the Niccolini Theatre, in Florence, where she is soon to perform in "Marie Antoinette."

Hon. Schuyler Colfax and Miss Ellen M. Wade, eldest daughter of the late Theodore L. Wade, were married at Andover, Ohio, on the 18th inst.

Mrs. M. E. Dodge, a well-known writer, and a daughter of the late Prof. Mapes, is to be editorially connected with *The Hearth and Home*, the new journal soon to be issued by Messrs. Pettengill, Bates, & Co., of this city.

Mrs. Sarah Page, of Canaan, N. H., has a Bible printed in 1599, "by the deputies of Christopher Baker, printer to the Queen's most excellent majesty." It was brought from London by Ezekiel Cheever, the famous old Puritan schoolmaster.

Robert Small, the heroic colored pilot to whom the Grant club of Ward ten, Boston, sent a beautiful flag for the Republicans of Beaufort, S. C., acknowledges the gift in a handsome letter, and says that his own town polled four hundred Republican to forty Democratic votes.

Mrs. Scott-Siddons made her first appearance in this country as an actress on Saturday night, at the Museum in Boston. She took the part of *Rosalind* in "As You Like it"—a character which she assumed admirably in her readings in New York and Brooklyn. She was enthusiastically received by a large audience.

Col. R. J. Hinton, of Washington, was in this city on Tuesday last *en route* from Boston to Washington. Col. Hinton is hard at work upon a new book on the subject of co-operation as connected with the labor question. He has given much attention to this subject in Europe and in this country, and his forthcoming book will be a very valuable contribution to the discussion of that topic.

The Boston *Advertiser* says:

"Mr. R. W. Emerson closed his Meionaon course on Monday with the most largely attended, the longest, and in some respects the most brilliant lecture of the series. The subject was 'Greatness,' a topic which gave full scope for the philosopher's rambling and eloquent method of treatment. He dwelt with especial fondness on the greatness of the scholar, and enumerated with enthusiasm the achievements of the learning and research of the present age; but he found time to eulogize and analyze also the greatness of such widely differing heroes as Napoleon, Diderot, and Dr. Johnson. We see it stated that Mr. Emerson is to repeat these lectures elsewhere in New England; and the literary world will wait with eagerness for their appearance in print, when the pages which have been skipped as well as those which have been read may be enjoyed at leisure."

Circular.

PENNSYLVANIA MEETINGS AND FESTIVAL.

THE Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Southern Saloon of the Assembly Buildings, Corner of Tenth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, on *Thursday, the 10th of December*, commencing at ten o'clock, A. M.

On the Evening of the same day, the Pennsylvania Festival of the Friends of Freedom will be held in Concert Hall, Chestnut Street, above 12th.

The Doors will open at 5 o'clock.

Your presence at this Meeting and Festival is earnestly requested.

The present condition of the country, the testimony to the fearful peril of the colored population in the South, which is continually borne by themselves and their friends who witness it, urge us by the strongest motives to work mightily for the consummation of their freedom. The solemn promise of the Nation, sealed by the Constitutional Amendment, which declares slavery illegal, can be fulfilled in good faith only by the protection of the ballot in their hands. This protection must be derived either from the Federal Constitution or a regenerated public sentiment in the Southern States.

The present demand of the Abolitionists on behalf of their clients is for such an amendment in our Federal Constitution as shall protect the colored men of the South in the exercise of their *right of suffrage;* and to accomplish *the complete and secured freedom of the American Slave*, we ask your hearty co-operation and aid.

The chief instrumentality by which we labor, is the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, the only newspaper in the country which is specially devoted to the advocacy of a Constitutional Amendment which shall secure the Ballot to those who are now passing through the transition from chattel slavery to the freedom of American citizens.

The money which we ask you to entrust to us, will be faithfully and economically used to accomplish this end; and most of it will be spent in the support of THE STANDARD.

To the value of this Journal, and the urgent need of its circulation, our Radical Congressmen constantly testify. So extensively and continually are its leading editorials copied by some of the great daily and weekly journals of the nation, that they have a larger number of readers than any other paper in the country. It is scarcely necessary to say that a paper devoted to Radical Reform never finds its subscription list sufficient for its support.

Many copies of THE STANDARD are gratuitously circulated both in the Northern and Southern States.

We appeal to your patriotism and your philanthropy to respond to our call for help, by contributing such sums as may be suggested by your ability and your sense of the just claims which a race long enslaved by this nation has upon every one of us.

Contributions of Provisions for the Refreshment table of the Festival are also solicited.

Coffee, tea, sugar, oysters, celery, boiled chickens, (for salad), eggs, butter, cream, biscuits, cake, (especially home-made cake), etc., etc., will be gladly received.

All such contributions may be sent to the house of Mrs. Pierce, No. 501 North Seventh Street, Philadelphia, or to the Hall during the day of the Festival.

MARY GREW.	LOUISA A. DORSEY.
LUCRETIA MOTT.	JOHN K. WILDMAN.
EDWARD M. DAVIS.	HANNAH P. WILDMAN.
MARIA M. DAVIS.	MARGARET J. BURLEIGH
ROBERT PURVIS.	ANNA M. HOPPER.
HARRIET PURVIS.	MARIA HOPPER.
HARRIET D. PURVIS.	ANNIE SHOEMAKER.
EMILY H. PURVIS.	MARGARETTA FORTEN.
SARAH M. PURVIS.	ALFRED H. LOVE.
CHARLOTTE L. PEIRCE.	WILLIAM D. INGRAHAM.
SARAH M. PEIRCE.	L. P. DANFORTH.
JOSHUA PEIRCE.	ANNA E. DICKINSON.
CHARLES W. PEIRCE.	ELIZABETH SHREVE.
HULDAH JUSTICE.	CAROLINE SHREVE.
ELIZABETH JUSTICE.	CYRUS WHITSUN.
ELLEN M. CHILD.	WILLIAM STILL.
EMILY CUSHMAN.	SARAH JAMES.
SARAH C. JAMES.	ABI JAMES.
GULIELMA M. JONES.	SARAH BOWMAN.

A Series of Meetings to be held in Pensylvania, during December, 1868:

SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 5TH.
Lecture by WENDELL PHILLIPS. Subject—DANIEL O'CONNELL.
At Bristol, Pa. Admission Fee, 50 Cents.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 6TH.
Meeting in Newtown Hall, Newtown, Pa. Admission Fee, 25 Cents.

MONDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 7TH.
Lecture by WENDELL PHILLIPS. Subject—THE TIMES.
In Horticultural Hall, Westchester, Pa. Admission Fee, 25 Cents.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 8TH.
Meeting in Horticultural Hall, Kennett Square, Pa.

TUESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 8TH.
Lecture by WENDELL PHILLIPS. Subject—THE TIMES.
At the same place. Admission Fee for both, 25 Cents.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 9TH.
Lecture by WENDELL PHILLIPS. Subject—DANIEL O'CONNELL.
At Concert Hall, Philadelphia. Admission Fee, 50 Cents.

THURSDAY MORNING AND AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 10TH.
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
At the Assembly Buildings, Philadelphia.
No Admission Fee.

[We are authorized to mention that in addition to WENDELL PHILLIPS and others, the Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT of Boston, and Mr. W. J. Linton of this city, will be among the speakers at this meeting.—ED].

THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 10TH.
FESTIVAL OF FRIENDS OF FREEDOM.
At Concert Hall, Philadelphia. Admission Fee, 50 Cents.

A MEETING of the Committee of Arrangements for the Pennsylvania Festival of the Friends of Freedom, will be held at No. 333 Walnut street, Philadelphia, on every Wednesday, prior to December 8th, at 3 o'clock, p. m.

Business of importance demands the punctual attendance of all the members; and they are requested to bring with them any persons who are willing to assist in the work of preparation. MARY GREW, Chairman.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, November 21st, 1868.

THE excellent lecture which Anna E. Dickinson delivered last Tuesday evening, in the "Parker Fraternity' course, was a very good preparation for the Convention in aid of Woman's Suffrage that immediately followed it. The lecture was entitled "A Struggle for Life," and it set forth, in a serious and earnest manner, the obstructions which law and custom, both founded on the old puritanic theology, place in the pathway of women. It is on subjects of this class that Miss Dickinson's power is best shown. The audience which has so often welcomed her there heard this discourse, for an hour and a half, with intense interest, and I was witness of the strong impression she produced upon an intelligent lady, not prepossessed in favor of the idea, who heard her for the first time.

The Convention, which held its sessions for two days and evenings in Horticultural Hall, was an eminent success. In spite of rain and mud the hall was filled with earnest men and women, and the interest increased with the progress of the discussions, so that, in all the sessions of the second day, the aisles and all other available standing-places were crowded with people.

The purpose of the Convention was two-fold: first, to show that an equal standing of women with men before the law is a just and reasonable claim, and a logical sequence from the truths stated in the Old and New Testaments and in the Declaration of Independence; and next, "to organize a permanent Association for the wise, systematic and efficient advocacy of woman suffrage, and its kindred civil and political rights."

The Convention was well officered and well conducted. Mrs. Severance called the meeting to order, James Freeman Clarke was made its President, and during his necessary absences the chair was held by T. W. Higginson of Newport, Rhode Island. No pause occured in the proceedings, either from lack of speakers on the platform or of interest in the audience. There seemed to be, through all the sessions, a deep sense of the importance of the subject among the people assembled, and a conviction that there was pressing need of the permanent organization proposed; it was voted to form such a Society, to be called "The New England Woman Suffrage Association;" a Constitution for it was adopted, and an excellent board of officers was chosen, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe being made President, and zealous workers of both sexes placed on the Executive Committee.

Several distinguished persons of this and other States, who were unable to give their personal attendance, sent letters expressing their sympathy with the Convention and its object. Among these were Governor Bullock of this State, Hon. Seth Hunt of Northampton, Judge Godfrey of Maine, Hon. R. G. Hazard of Rhode Island, John Neal of Portland, Maine, and George William Curtis of New York.

It had been particularly desired that the persons heretofore most prominent in opposing the enfranchisement of woman, and maintaining that her present state of legal subordination to man should be continued, might appear at this Convention, if they would consent to do so, and state the grounds of their position before women capable of answering them. Dr. Holland of Springfield, one of the most conspicuous of this class, is absent from the country, much to the regret of the Committee of Arrangements; but respectful invitations were sent to Rev. Dr. John Todd of Pittsfield, and Rev. Justin Fulton of the Tremont Temple in this city, urging them to appear here and say *to* women what they had said *of* them. Dr. Todd wrote a civil note, alleging previous engagements as a reason for not appearing. Mr. Fulton neither appeared nor replied to the invitation. Indeed no one ventured to give utterance to the two classes of objections, theological and sentimental, which are the stock in trade of the three gentlemen above named. No one there desired to perpetuate the exclusion of women from partnership in political rights and duties on the ground taken by those writers, namely, *because they are women;* and the only approach to opposition to the idea of the Convention which appeared there was the theory advanced by Mr. Wasson, and intended to be applied equally to men and women, that a certain degree of intelligence should be required as the indispensable condition of exercise of the franchise.

Many of the addresses were highly admirable for the clearness and force with which they presented the women's cause, and the grounds, natural, philosophical, political and religious, upon which it rests. Among these, but by no means comprising them all, were the speeches of Messrs. Clark, Higginson, Garrison, Sewall, Stratton and Blackwell, and of Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Stone, Mrs. Harper and Mrs. Foster. Especially affecting was the statement of Mrs. Harper, who, feeling keenly in her own person the disabilities imposed by American laws and customs on account of sex and of race, testified that the former were not to be named in comparison with the latter.

One has rarely ever seen a Convention, some sessions of which were free to all speakers, where there was so small a proportion of irrelevant and unprofitable talk, or so positively little of it. Audience and speakers alike seemed to have come there on serious business, and to be bent on an earnest fulfilment of it. And the substantial agreement of the body was such, that only on one matter of business, and that a subordinate one, was there a warm debate dividing the sympathies of the Convention.

This occurred near the close of the second day's evening session, the question being whether a resolution casting censure on both political parties and suggesting modifications in the policy of both, should be retained in the series, (respecting the remainder of which there was perfect unanimity), or should receive considerable modification. It was a question of expediency, not of principle, and though strong feelings and deep sympathies were engaged in it, there was no acrimony of expression nor unkindness of feeling. Mrs. Stone was on one side and Mrs. Foster on the other, and many hearts and minds were swayed first to this side and then to that, as these two women, so loved and honored for their lives of self-denying labor, set forth the grounds on which their respective opinions were founded. Many amendments were proposed, many speakers took part in the debate, and several repetitions of the vote were required, so numerous, on each side, were the members interested, before the result was clearly shown. At last, within half an hour of midnight, a decisive majority appeared, affirming the resolution in question as it was originally drawn, and the Convention adjourned.

Unfortunately, just after the adjournment, a member of the Convention, Mr. Newell A. Foster, editor of the *Portland Press*, was seized with distressing symptoms proceeding from a disease of the heart of long standing. His brother, Stephen S. Foster, and various friends, gave all the assistance in their power, and, supported by them, he was able to leave the hall; but the trouble returned, and he died on the following day.

The faith of the members of this Convention received satisfactory witness from their works, as far as the contribution of money was concerned, the Finance Committee having collected money sufficient to pay the expenses of the Convention, and pledges to the amount of nearly two thousand dollars ($2,000) towards the operations of the New England Women's Suffrage Association. Among the cash received was a silver coin, affirmed by experts to be a quarter-of-a-dollar, of the sort formerly current and common here. It is pleasant to think that the holding of a Women's Convention here has immediately caused a tendency towards the resumption of specie payments. NORTH.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 22d, 1868.

On Thursday and Friday of last week the Peace Society held its annual convention in this city. The meetings were not largely attended, showing, notwithstanding the popular and repeated demand for "peace" which was so prevalent lately, that a movement specially in its behalf, in a true and essential sense, has no great hold upon the public. The advocates who thus assembled, though few, are earnest and sincere, and warmly devoted to their object. Their hope of immediate or early success has no flattering encouragement, but their purpose is no less commendable on that account, neither does it detract from the peerless value of the principle whose supremacy they seek to establish. Nor does the sparse attendance at these meetings indicate that the number of those who believe in peace is necessarily small. The fact shows, however, that faith in the efficacy of purely peaceful measures, under any and all circumstances, is not remarkably strong. In the good time not yet arrived, when men will be created with weaker combative organizations, and be more vigorously endowed with those higher and nobler qualities that tend towards peace and good will, these worthy efforts will be more generously recognized. A better spiritual development must exist, and a more thorough and universal moral discipline must prevail, before we can have a good assurance that the end of war draws near. A broader dissemination of enlightenment and purity must precede the final triumph and enduring reign of peace.

But I did not mean to moralize upon the subject, but simply to chronicle the fact that the peace meetings were held, that several persons interested in the cause spoke on the occasion, and that resolutions were passed conveying the sentiments of the Convention. There was much excellent speaking which well deserved a more extensive hearing. Among those who spoke were Alfred H. Love, president of the Society, Dr. H. T. Child, Rachel W. Townsend, Aaron M. Powell, and Cora L. V. Daniels. There were others whose names I do not now recall.

A Memorial in behalf of the Indians was prepared and adopted, and addressed to "the President of the United States, the Commissoner of Indian affairs, and the members of the Senate and House of Representatives." It is earnestly hoped that it may have a beneficent influence in favor of the sadly wronged Indians.

General Grant was in the city last week, and left on Saturday morning for Washington. He received many callers at the Continental Hotel, and had a formal reception at the Union League House, where the members quite generally were favored with an introduction. There was to have been a more public demonstration on Friday evening, but the very inclement state of the weather prohibited. A grand serenade was included in the programme, which was necessarily postponed, and the General promises to come again in a short time, when the public wish will be gratified.

Two colored ladies called at the Continental, and invited the President-elect to visit a Fair which they represented, then being held at the Assembly Building. He received them with the utmost courtesy, indicated a sympathy with their movement, and the satisfaction i:

would afford him to comply with their wishes, but his engagements interfered.

During the time he remained in our city the General displayed his noted characteristic, and was wholly innocent of anything akin to prodigality of speech. But I would not censure him for that. His habitual reticence may all along have been a protection against the utterance of many foolish things. What we soon shall hope for will be wisdom of action, and harmonious coöperation with the legislative branch of the government in promoting the welfare of the people, and achieving the highest good of the Republic. Let us hope that the proposed amendment in behalf of impartial suffrage may have the benefit of his approval, and the weight of his influence.

The celebrated "Blind Tom" is here, exhibiting his wonderful skill night after night at Concert Hall, which has been engaged for him till the close of the month.

W.

THREE DANIELS COME TO JUDGMENT.

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 13th, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

The three Daniels constituting the Supreme Court of Missouri have recently made a decision respecting the status of married women that *is* a decision. Under the laws of Missouri a court of criminal correction was created for St. Louis County having jurisdiction over a certain class of offences. The Act provides that informations in any cases over which the Court has jurisdiction "may be lodged by the Prosecuting Attorney for the St. Louis Court of Criminal Correction or by any other person; if lodged by said Prosecuting Attorney, it need not be under oath, but if lodged by any other person, he shall swear to the same to the effect that he believes it to be true."

Under that statute one Mrs. David Berlin filed an information against her husband under oath for open and notorious adultery and kindred offences and procured his arrest, trial and conviction and sentence by said Court. From that sentence the defendant appealed to the Supreme Court and urged as a reason for reversing the judgement that a married woman is not a person within the meaning of the law.

The Supreme Court sustained the objection and the following is the opinion of the court on that subject as delivered by Judge Fagg:

"The complaint was made and sworn to by the wife of the defendant. The question here is whether the rule of law which would have prohibited her from testifying in the trial either for or against her husband, will also make her incompetent to initiate such a proceeding as this. In the amended act creating the St. Louis Court of Criminal Correction it is provided by section 20 that if the complaint is made by the prosecuting attorney or his assistant, that it need not be under oath, and the party complained of is then notified by summons to appear and answer. If, however, it is made, in the language of the act, 'by any other person,' It must be sworn to, and thereupon a warrant issued and the offender apprehended and held in custody, or recognized to appear on the day of trial. In the very nature of the case, the words 'any other person' can only mean such person as would be (under the general rules of law) competent to testify. It is true she is not introduced as a witness at the trial, but it is at her instance and upon her sworn statements of offenses committed by the husband that the process is issued, and he is subjected to a criminal prosecution. The law excludes her from testifying in such a case upon principles of public policy. 'For (Greenleaf says) it is essential to the happiness of social life that the confidence subsisting between husband and wife should be sacredly protected and cherished in its most unlimited extent; and to break down or impair the great principles which protect the sanctities of that relation would be to destroy the best solace of human existence." The exceptions to this rule are few in number, and are only allowed for the "sake of public justice," or "for the protection of the wife in her life and liberty." Certainly the reasons of the rule, as above stated, are broad enough to cover every imaginable proceeding against the husband not embraced in these exceptions. It will not be pretended that there is anything in the case at the bar that brings it within either class of excepted cases.

To admit the practice of permitting either wives or husbands to institute such proceedings against each other, would be establishing a precedent most dangerous to the best interests of society, and one which would go very far to break down this barrier so wisely interposed by the law for the protection of the sacred relation of marriage.

The complaint not having been made by a person competent under the statute, the proceedings against the defendant were wholly unauthorised, and must fall to the ground.

The other judges concurring, the judgment of the lower court will be reversed and the cause remanded.

Thos. J. C. Fagg.

Really that is the language of a most learned judge, none but a man too learned for long life would ever have discovered that "the best interests of society" would be endangered by permitting the wife to inform against her husband when guilty of open and notorious adultery, and to a Missouri Supreme Court belongs the high honor of the discovery of the fact that "protection of the sacred relation of marriage" requires a woman to witness uncomplainingly her husband living in open adultery with an other. Such law may be necessary to protect the marriage relation between Missouri judges and their wives, but from such decisions good Lord deliver all the rest of mankind.

Now in the name of all that is sacred I ask Fagg, Wagner and Co., Supreme Judges of Missouri, what language can be used to include married women if the term "persons" does not? and if they are not persons, what are they? As long as Courts will thus torture language and violate all rules of common sense, to excuse themselves for refusing to recognize in woman any rights a man is bound to respect, so long will it be necessary to give woman the ballot. If a Supreme Court composed of women should ever make as ridiculous a decision as the one now being commented upon, and assign as many foolish reasons in its support as Judge Fagg has done, I will then admit womankind at least is incapable of self government and unfit to be entrusted with any rights whatever.

Charles E. Moss]

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

St. Louis, Mo., November 16th, 1868

To the Editor of the Standard:

Now the result of the election is definitely ascertained, is the duty of the true and earnest radicals to organize for an advance in the direction of true Democracy. It will not answer to delay one hour the work of preparation for the approaching contest, as a contest is sure to come. The position of the Conservative Republicans is now such as to make it impossible for Radical Republicans to longer act in harmony with them on any important questions. No Radical Republican can longer refuse to support Universal Suffrage in its broadest sense. It is the duty of every true friend of freedom to make the question of recognizing by an amendment of the National Constitution the right of every citizen grown up to the age of maturity regardless of race, color or sex, to vote and be voted for, and to fill any position they have the heart and brain to win the paramount question in the politics of the future. That is now really the pressing question of the age, and the Republican party must meet it with pluck or be broken in pieces by it. It can never again succeed in an election without making women suffrage an article of its creed, and the sooner Republican leaders are made to understand that fact the better for them. There will be an attempt made this winter to secure an amendment giving the male negro the right to vote all over the Union, but no one seems to think it yet time to undo the infamous work of the Republican party in inserting the word male in the National Constitution when speaking of qualifications of voters. That party has now either to undo that infamous work or meet with defeat and disaster in the future. True radical men respect their mothers and sisters and will not submit always to see them insulted in the provisions of the organic acts of States, and that politicians of all parties will soon find out. The old Anti-Slavery party, weak as it was, proved strong enough to break in pieces all parties that treated it with scorn, and the friends of woman suffrage will prove strong enough to destroy all parties that will not now honestly and boldly respect their mothers and sisters in all matters connected with the elective franchise and the holding of office. No man can respect his mother and sister that will deny them the same right to vote and be voted for that he claims for himself. Let every true friend of radicalism and human progress organize immediately for the purpose of agitating the question of woman suffrage. Give Senators no rest day nor night until an amendment shall be adopted to the National Constitution recognizing the right of every citizen of lawful age regardless of race or sex, to vote and hold office. Agitate boldly and earnestly three years to come and that measure will be sure to be adopted. Make it a test question in every election, and politicians will begin to find that woman's rights is a subject fit for weak-minded men to consider as well as strong-minded women.

Charles E. Moss.

ADDRESS BY MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

Delivered in the New England Woman's Rights Convention, Boston, November 18th.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am entirely unprepared to address you, and can scarcely attempt more than a gesture of politeness and sympathy. I must treat what I have to say much after the manner in which a surprised housewife serves up a hasty dinner, bring out such things as she has, without much form or order.

I may as well begin by saying how glad I am to be here. Women are sensitive, and I think rightly so, about being out of place. But none of us need fear, in coming here, to be out of place. I might hesitate about going to this ball—to that great dinner. I might fear not to be fine enough—ready enough. But here sincerity must be the wedding garment, with which we shall all hope to be adorned.

I am glad to be made to feel that we are to begin our deliberations on a peaceable platform. One of the features that have trained me in the earlier advocacy of the extended political efficiency of woman presented itself in the unkind suggestions made and entertained concerning the opposite sex. I do not want to hear abuse of my father, grandfather, uncles, and male relatives in general. I do not even wish to hear my husband hinted at as a Satan behind the scenes. If we look round in this assembly we shall be convinced that the friends of man are the friends of woman; and I see with pleasure that we are to discuss the present question not on the basis of division, but of a larger and more perfect unity.

My earliest objections to the entertainment of the question of woman suffrage were founded upon the idea of separation suggested by it. "Woman's rights?" I asked. "We have no separate rights; no rights other than those of humanity in general." Further reflection showed me that disabilities are also a source of separation.

I have written many things in a sense very different to that of this convention. I have quite a number of ingenious essays written to prove that women should not vote. The fact of her inability to perform military service seemed to me to exclude her from the franchise. But the coming in of more peaceful manners changes voting from a military to a moral function, and it thus becomes in my opinion, one which can properly be administered by woman.

There have been so many solid and logical arguments built up on the other side, that writers and thinkers are naturally reluctant to forsake such respectable fortresses of logic and tradition. This reminds me of a poem of Browning's, in which a band of adventurers, seeking some promised island of the blest, land in the wrong place, but after building there their beautiful crystal statues, cannot tear themselves from the place.

We cannot leave our work, they cried. But we are obliged to leave our work, and we find in time that we do not love it. We lose the form, but not the experience nor the spirit. History developes new revelations, and we must leave our synagogues, no matter how well swept and garnished they may be; we must leave them, and hold a meeting on the mount or beside the lake.

I first became converted to the right of woman suffrage on finding that the negro was inevitably to receive the franchise. Voting thus became a fundamental human right and function, from which women could no longer be excluded. And I am glad that we shall come in after the negro, whose wrongs and sufferings, patiently borne, have made him in our eyes an august, a heroic personage. I hope and believe that we shall make as good a use of our newly accorded powers as I am sure that he will make of his.

One word more. Let me say in conclusion that women are rare. The numerical majority of thirty-five thousand in Massachusetts to the contrary notwithstanding, women are rare.

A doll is not a woman. A toy is not a woman. A poor drudge, with all soul and thought driven out of her, is not a woman. She would be glad to be one, but it is not allowed. I think and hope that the object and action of this convention will do something to hold up before our own eyes and those of the world that ideal of womanhood which all men revere, and which all women must desire to attain.

MEMORIAL OF THE UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION ON BEHALF OF THE INDIANS.

To the President of the United States, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives:

The following Memorial in relation to the Indians respectfully represents, that the Memorialists are the Friends of Peace, associated under the name of the Universal Peace Union, having their branches in many of the States of this Union and in Europe, and assembling from time to time, have adopted the following and similar sentiments:

Deeply moved with compassion for the suffering Indian, and convinced that serious mistakes are made by those to whom has been committed the settlement of the difficulties which exist upon our frontiers, we desire to strengthen your hands in any legislation which looks to acting with justice and humanity, and to do our part as members of the human family in bringing about order, harmony, peace and happiness.

We find the Indian in insurrection against wrong and outrage, and we think that is more the result of wanton and cruel aggressions on the part of lawless white adventurers—especially Government Contractors, Agents, and Speculators—than from any intention on the part of the Government itself.

We cannot but call your attention to these unfortunate appointments, whereby the Government has been grossly deceived or cruelly remiss in exercising proper care in their selection.

We are fully persuaded that Peace between the Indian tribes and ourselves might have been, and may still be secured by a faithful adherence to *and* fulfilment of treaties, and a conscientious acknowledgement and recognition of their rights as men.

The cry comes to us from all sides: "If the Red Man has any friends now is the time for them to act."

Some of our members, now in the far West, have had interviews with Indian Chiefs and Peace Commissioners, and they implore you to withhold the hand of blood. They say: "Plans are coolly talked over as to the manner of murdering the Indians, who have almost lost faith in any Government officials."

The good plan of William Penn was found successful two hundred years ago, and we believe it would answer again, although surrounded with additional difficulties on account of the depravity and bad faith that has grown among the Indians, in consequence of the wretched policy pursued.

There should be no deception or oppression. As a people, we are loud in our praise of justice and honor; yet are heaping merited reproach upon our heads, and inviting condign retribution upon our guilty nation, by a system of falsehood, injustice, and destruction, at which some of the very officers sent out to subdue the Indians already protest.

A radical change is demanded. We should reverse the present order.

Instead of driving the Indians farther off, we should draw them nearer to us by protection, truth, and good will.

They are not insensible to kindness. They have noble qualities of courage, faith, manhood, strength, freedom, recognition of a Great Controlling Spirit, veneration for their Fathers and for the good everywhere, far superior to many of the aborigines of the earth. May we not even gain much from them for our own improvement?

They should not be herded together, and compelled to live with tribes with whom they cannot agree; their homestead rights and human rights should not be disregarded; and in offering them Reservations, their consent should be obtained and their wishes fairly considered, and for everything they relinquish they should receive proper remuneration.

Though the world cry, *Exterminate*, we reply *Perpetuate*. They are created by the All-Wise Father—they love the same joys, they suffer the same pains and sorrows; and it is a monstrous usurpation of power in a government to attempt to deprive them of the rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

"Lieutenant Casack overtakes the Apaches, killing and wounding a number, and destroying their winter supplies.

What diabolical inhumanity and wanton indiscretion—"destroying their winter supplies,"—at the very time when they are most needed, and with the knowledge that the American people have hearts too full of sympathy not to unite to restore what their very armies thus ruthlessly destroy!

Instead of erecting fortifications in their very faces, and stationing armies among them, which naturally excite hate, revenge, and war, we should relieve their pressing necessities, furnish them seeds, agricultural implements, tools and teachers for the school, the farm, and the shop.

It is cheaper to feed than to fight them, and more humane to love than to hate them.

Better than to lay the Pacific Railroad with bloody hands, would be to interest the Indians in the work, employ them and pay them fairly, and see to it that they really receive the appropriations made in kind and amount, rather than in intoxicating liquors and fire-arms. In a little while the peaceful pursuits of life would be followed, and even reciprocal commerce opened with them.

As the words, "Indians not taxed," stand in the Constitution as an invidious and disqualifying distinction, and are in the spirit of slavery, we ask you to strike them out—for if the tax be the requisite of the vote and, consequently, of representation and equality, take off the stigma and open the way for the admission of the Indians to the rights of citizenship, and thus encourage the apointment from their own midst of representatives to remain at the Capitol of the nation, and offer such advice and suggestions as may from time to time be demanded. In the spirit of love, justice, and sympathy, is to be found the development of our Republican idea, and the advancement of our civilization; and we feel that, with the army and corrupt agents withdrawn, a delegation of true friends would be induced to mingle among the Indians, and in a few months settle the existing troubles, and secure the blessings of peace and fraternal intercourse without any material cost to the Government.

There is no need of disturbing their sincere religious faith in the One Great Spirit, to whom we all bow in reverence, neither is there need of complicated orders or treaties. The plain and simple application of the principles of love and "the golden rule" will insure the grandest triumphs for our age, our race, and our country; for it will be in the spirit of Him "who knoweth no distinction of nation, tongue, or people, and which extendeth to the remotest parts of the world." As representatives of our members,

We are your assured friends,

Alfred H. Love, *President*,

Philadelphia, Pa.

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Philadelphia, November 19th, 1868.

LITERARY.

A Man in Earnest. Life of A. H. Conant. By Robert Collyer. 230 pp. Boston: Horace B. Fuller.

Mr. Collyer has given us in this book the record of a brave and good man. Being a warm personal friend of Mr. Conant he writes of what he himself knew of his heroic efforts and christian devotion.

The opening chapters trace his marked characteristics to a vigorous ancestry, and note the events in his life which led him finally to study for the ministry and espouse the Unitarian faith. He was one of the early pioneers in introducing liberal Christianity to the West. His diary shows him to have been a patient student, a man of untiring industry not shrinking from manual labor on which he depended largely for support. As early as 1840 he became obnoxious on account of his public protests against slavery and intemperance. When the first cannon shot at Sumter summoned the North to arms he was among the first to answer the call as chaplain of the 19th Illinois regiment. On board the steamer which bore him from his home he writes to his wife: "If it is the will of God that I should finish my course in the cause of freedom and humanity, I hope dear wife, you will accept that termination to my life as best, trusting in the wisdom and love of our Father." The extracts from his letters written during his labors in the army are very interesting and show the real strength of his character. He comprehended the real issue of the war and was impatient at the tardy progress of justice. In September 25th, 1861 he writes: "I have felt greatly mortified and vexed at President Lincoln's interference with Gen. Fremont's noble action—so much so that I have almost regretted joining the army. It seems to me it will strengthen and encourage the rebels and protract the war, and that the North, if a different policy is not adopted, will be thoroughly whipped, and I am not sure but it is the best thing that can happen, as a means of making us willing to do justice, and make an end of slavery, the cause of all our troubles." November 18th, 1861, he writes of preaching in a Baptist church at Elizabethtown Ky., and says: "It happened that most of my audience, except our regiment, were slaveholders, and probably a majority were in sympathy with secession. For once in their lives, they had an opportunity to hear a little plain preaching on the subject of slavery, and I had an opportunity to preach without hindrance, or fear of molestation, to slaveholders in a slave State."

Aug. 19th, 1862, he relates the following incident: "Two ladies in a carriage, with a negro driver, have been to these head-quarters slave-hunting. Had heard that one named Andrew was here. Had a permit from Gen. Rousseau to search the camps. Inquired for the chaplain's tent and proposed to search that. Chaplain closed the tent, and told them it belonged to him and they could not enter or look into it. Ladies held out a paper, which they said was Gen. Rousseau's permit of search. Chaplain told them neither they nor the General could enter his tent for such a purpose. Ladies left in a towering passion, to bring the General in person to catch the negro, punish the chaplain, and so forth Have not returned yet with him, and I suspect they find it hard to persuade him to come. Maybe I shall be honored with an invitation to the General's head-quarters, or to appear before his highness, Don Carlos Buell. Maybe not; I wait with patience. After the ladies were gone, Andy took a walk; I did not notice which way he went. "Aug. 22d, 1862.—Yesterday we had another hunt in our camp. The women came again, reinforced by an escort of three cavalrymen with orders from Gen. Rousseau, they said, to take Andy, dead or alive, to his headquarters. Andy was not in camp. I was a little distance from my tent, building a foot-bridge, but went and closed my tent-door. Seeing my tent shut up, they suspected Andy was there; so one of the escort came, intending to look in. I bade him stand back, told him he could not enter. He presented what he said was General Rousseau's order. I told him the order was to search the camp, but not my tent; he might go the length of his order, but in such infamous business not a hair's breadth further.

"He then went back, when one of the women shouted she wished she was a man, she would go into that tent. I told her it was a pity she was not so she could try. I believe if they could get Andy into their hands they would kill him. Is it not infamous that, in defiance of the law of Congress, our Generals in command will go their utmost length to help to catch and return the slaves of traitors now in the Confederate army?"

He did not live to see his hopes of emancipation fully realized. In the battle near Murfreesborough he overtaxed his strength in his devotion to the wounded and dying on the battle field, was taken sick with inflamation of the lungs, and died February 8th, 1863. The touching and eloquent sermon preached at his funeral by Robert Collyer forms the concluding chapter of this very interesting book.

It is for sale by James Miller.

Two volumes of sermons by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, edited by the Rev. Lyman Abott, have recently been issued by the Messrs. Harper & Brothers. These sermons originally reported by Mr. T. J. Ellinwood, have been carefully revised by their author, and the selection includes all of the wide range of topics treated by Mr. Beecher during his ministration in Plymouth church, exclusive of those upon the public questions of the day. "These it has been thought best to reserve, and, should they ever be republished, to place in a volume by themselves." The first volume contains an excellent steel engraved portrait of Mr. Beecher. With much more interest than usually attaches to books of sermons will these be read, as undoubtedly a faithful portraiture of Mr. Beecher's customary pulpit teachings.

Littell's Living Age enters upon its *One Hundredth Volume* on January next, which fact sufficiently attests its deserved success.

In the number for November 21st, it begins, by arrangement with the Boston publishers of Berthold Auerbach's works, a new and great Romance, by that most eminent of living German novelists, entitled, *The Country-House on the Rhine*, which is now appearing serially in Germany. Auerbach's last work, *On the Heights*, has been pronounced "the most remarkable novel that has come to us from the home of Goethe during the present century." The new work is to be partly American in its theme, and promises to be a masterpiece of the author. It will appear from week to week in *The Living Age* until completed.

The publishers make a liberal offer to new subscribers for the year 1869; viz., to send them the weekly numbers of *The Living Age*, from the beginning of this story to January next, *free of charge*.

Besides the above attraction, *The Living Age* will continue to present to its readers its usual *complete résumé* of the valuable literature of the day, embracing the best Reviews, Criticisms, Tales, Poetry, Literary, Scientific, Biographical, Historical, and Political information gathered from the whole body of English periodical literature and from the pens of the ablest living writers. Issued in weekly numbers of sixty-four pages each, making more than *three thousand* double-column octavo pages a year, it is one of the cheapest, if not the cheapest magazine that can be had, considering the quantity and quality of literary matter furnished. *The Living Age* is a journal of varied interest embracing as it does a wide range of topics ably treated by the best writers. It is edited with excellent discrimination, and has no superior, if it is equalled, among the journals of the class to which it belongs.

It is issued every Saturday by "Littell & Gay, Boston," at $8.00 a year, free of postage. An extra copy sent *gratis* to any one getting up a Club of Five New Subscribers.

The Friend for November contains a very interesting sermon written by the Rev. J. W. Chadwick of Brooklyn, in which he reviews the results of the late Unitarian Conference, and gives a frank expression of his own position as belonging to the extreme radical wing of the denomination. This number also presents a full account of the case of John J. Merritt in the New York Monthly and Quarterly meetings of Friends. "The Four Gospels;" also Mrs. Corbin's story, "Married," are continued.

Charles Scribner & Co., who will publish the historical romance of "Madame Thérèse" this week, have just received the following letter from the poet Whittier:

"Amesbury, 14th Nov., 1868.

"C. Scribner & Co.—I have to thank you for the opportunity of reading the advance sheets of Mess. Erckmann-Chatrian's fine historical romance, 'Madame Thérèse,' translated by Charlotte L. Forten. A hasty perusal satisfies me that the translator has very happily rendered the quaint felicity of description, simplicity, pathos and humor of the original. Its delightful home pictures of old-world life and manners lose nothing in her hands. I cannot but hope that the success of this charming little romance may be such as to ensure us the perusal of the other works of the twin authors in the same pure English. Very truly, your friend,

"John G. Whittier."

RECEIVED.

Scott's Poetical Works. Diamond Edition. 487 pp. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co.

The Flower and the Star and other Stories for Children. By W. J. Linton. Illustrated. 120 pp. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co.

Sermons by Henry Ward Beecher. Two Vols. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The King's Lily and Rosebud. By Anna M. Diaz. 144 pp. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co.

The Woman's Kingdom. By the author of John Halifax. 183 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Andrew Douglass. 232 pp. New York: National Temperance Society.

Correspondence of Gerrit Smith with Albert Barnes. 132 pp. New York: American News Company.

Too True. A Story of To-day. 295 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

Rural Poems. By William Barnes. 158 pp. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

Physiology and Hygiene. By J. C. Dalton, M. D. 399 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Little Gypsy. By Elie Sauvage. Translated from the French by J. M. Luyster. 133 pp. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

Planchette's Diary. Edited by Kate Field. New York: J. S. Redfield, Publisher.

The Grecian Bend. A Story in Verse. By Larry Leigh. 48 pp. New York: J. S. Redfield, Publisher.

The North American Review for October. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co.

The Friend for November. New York: 131 William street.

The Atlantic Monthly for December. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co.

Lippincott's Magazine for December. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Putnam's Magazine for December. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

The Spirituelle; or, Directions in Development. By Abby M. Laflin Ferree. Boston: William White & Company.

The Edinburgh Review for October. New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company.

Harper's Monthly for December. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Phrenological Journal for December! S. R. Wells. 389 Broadway, New York.

The Children's Friend for December. E. K. Smedley, Editor, West Chester, Pa.

Demorest's Young America for December. 473 Broadway, N. Y.

The Galaxy for December. New York: Sheldon & Co.

Died.—At his residence, Harmony Grove, Chester Co., Pa., on the evening of the 15th inst. of consumption of the lungs, Isaac Jackson, aged 39 years.

Special Notices.

PREMIUMS

We continue to offer to old subscribers who renew their subscriptions and send one new subscriber for the year ($6); or to any who will send two new subscribers ($6); either of the following very desirable books:

Wendell Phillips' "Speeches, Lectures and Letters," 562 pages, with steel portrait—price $2.50.

Lydia Maria Child's Romance of the Republic, 442 pages—price $2.50.

Caroline H. Dall's "College, Market and Court, 498 pages—price $2.50.

Mr. Edward M. Davis, No. 333 Walnut street, Philadelphia, consents, for a time, to act as General Agent of the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society; and to receive and forward, from Philadelphia and vicinity, subscriptions, and advertisements for The Standard.

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The Woman's Advocate, the first number of which will be ready by the first of January, 1869, will be issued thereafter every month; each number containing 48 pages, printed from new type on fine paper, and furnished to subscribers for Two Dollars a year, payable in advance. Single Copy, Twenty Cents. The postage will be Twelve Cents.

The January number will contain articles from Lucy Stone, Frances D. Gage, Frederick Douglass, Rev. J. W. Chadwick and other well-known writers.

All Communications to be addressed,

William P. Tomlinson, Publisher,
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[Subscriptions for *The National Anti-Slavery Standard* and *The Woman's Advocate* will be received, the two furnished for $4.00 per annum].

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"'On the Heights,' is the most remarkable novel that has come to us from the home of Goethe during the present century."—*Northern Monthly, May, 1868.*

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The Country-House on the Rhine.

promises to be a master-piece of the author, and will derive additional interest from the fact that its theme is to be partly American. The publication will be begun in the number of *The Living Age* for Nov. 21st, and will be continued from week to week until completed.

The Living Age free to the end of the year.

To new subscribers, remitting their subscriptions for the year 1869, we will send *The Living Age* from the beginning of this Romance to the 1st of January next *free of charge.*

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From Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, May, 1867.

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Miscellaneous Department.

AUTUMNAL.

I.

Can this be sadness? this forebode decay?
Are these the vestments of funereal woe?
Sure, hues that pale like these the dawning's glow
The rather deck some dryad's festal day!
Hail, radiant hour! thrice welcome, gladsome ray,
That, kindling through these bonghs, with golden flow,
Streams joy and summer to the shades below!
And thou, brown-dappled Oak and Maple gay,
In rippling waves of many-tinted flame,
Lithe Birch, gold-hued, thin Ash, whose dyes might shame
The trodden vintage reeking on the lees,
And ivied Beech with sanguine cinctures fair:—
As in the long days past, fraternal trees,
With you, whate'er your gladness, let me share!

II.

O'er banks of mossy mould how lightly strewn
All the wan summer lies! The heedless tread
Awakes no sound; and, had not pale leaves fled,
As soft it came, the low winds were not known.
How strange the sharp and long-drawn shadows thrown
From lank and shrivelled branches overhead,
While from their withered glories, spoiler-shed,
The earthy autumn-scents are faintly blown!
Ah! reft and ravaged bowers, the garish day
Flaunts through the hidings of your dewy glooms!
And thou, in leafy twilights wont to be,
Shy maid, sweet-thoughted Sadness, come away,
And here beneath this Hemlock's drooping plumes
With pensive retrospection muse with me.

III.

Why holds o'er all my heart this dreamy hour
A sway that spring or summer never knew?
Why seems this ragged gentian, wanly blue,
Of all the circling year the fairest flower?
Whence has each wandering leaf this mystic power
That all my secret being trembles through—
Or sounds the blackbird's note more human-true
Than all the songs of June from greenwood bower?
Deep meanings haunt the groves and sunny glades,
Strange dearness broods along the hazy slopes,
A vague but tender awe my breast pervades,
That hints of shadowy doubt, yet is not fear;
While musing quiet stirs with drowsy hopes,
And Nature's loving heart seems doubly near.

Atlantic Monthly for December.

THE HANGING OF GORDON, THE SLAVE-TRADER.

BY EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

New York was the great centre where the slave-traders of the world bought their vessels. Havana was the great centre where they laid their plans. Boston, New Bedford, New London, Cadiz, Barcelona, the Western Islands, and I know not where else, were the minor places in the operation. The voyages were arranged at Havana, the ships were partly fitted in New York, thence they slipped to sea, picked up the rest of their equipment and the right papers elsewhere if New York would not answer, and brought up on the Western Coast. I have seen the record which Mr. Archibald, the English Consul and Commissioner in New York, kept of one hundred and seventy-one of these vessels in three years, time. His secret agents boarded them in New York Harbor, and described them for him in detail, even down to the brand of cigars which the captain had in his cabin. Mr. Archibald sent the description to the Admiralty, and they to the Coast. "Let me go below," said an English officer, on board a slaver in one of the African rivers. "You go at your peril," said the captain, brave in the perfectly regular papers he had, in the Stars and Stripes over his head, in the new coat of paint he had taken at the Western Islands, and in the fact, perhaps, that, though he sailed a bark, he was now a brig. "You go below at your peril." "I will take the risk," said the Englishman; went below, and found all the slave-fittings, casks, cooking-stove, hand-cuffs and the rest, and of course, seized the vessel. The out-witted captain, white with rage, swore between his clenched teeth, "You would not have known me but for your bloody English Counsel in New York." Almost every man of the projectors was known to the English government through this steady secret service. But they all ran riot till Mr. Lincoln came in, and then one fine day one Gordon was arrested for slave-trading, another day he was tried, and another he was hanged!

Yes, my friend, he was hanged. I know about what is called the sacredness of human life. For my part, I believe a man's life is as sacred as his liberty, and no more so. And I believe when his country requires either his life or his liberty, she may use it, if she takes the responsibility. In this case, I am very glad my country took this responsibility. Whatever Gordon's life may have been worth to him or to his friends, I think this country put it to a very good use when she hanged him. A storm of protest was made against his death. Twenty-five thousand people petitioned Abraham Lincoln to spare that man's life, and Abraham Lincoln refused. Gordon was hanged. And all through the little ports and big ports of the United States it was known that a slave-trader had been hanged. And, when that was known, the American slave-trade ended. All up and down little African rivers that you never heard the names of, it was known that an American slave-trader had been hanged; and cowardly pirates trembled, and brave seamen cheered, when they heard it. Mothers of children thanked such gods as they knew how to thank; and slaves shut up in barracoons, waiting for the voyage, got signal that something had happened which was to give them freedom. That something was that Gordon was hanged. So far that little candle threw its beams.

I am told, and I believe, that when that poor wretch was under sentence of death, his "friends" kept him in liquor to the moment of his death—so anxious were they lest he should complicate some of them by a confession. And when he was dead they celebrated his death in the last great orgy of the slave-trade—in one drunken feast they held together—so rejoiced were they that they had escaped his testimony. Such is the honor among thieves?—*Atlantic Monthly for December.*

HOW TO TALK.

There are plenty of good people in the world, neither weak nor foolish, who become almost insufferable in society from their tediousness in talking. They commence a sentence and pause, make great account of a prolonged *and*, use a word and then change it for another, and consume so much precious time that, the listener becoming impatient, what they say is deemed small compensation for the time occupied.

Surrounded by bright spirits, all of whom have something to say well worth the hearing, it is insufferably annoying to be obliged to sit, outwardly calm and respectful, and listen to long-drawn sentences, the pith of whose meaning could have been expressed in a few well chosen words.

It may be added in extenuation that all have not the power to "talk right on." This is admitted, but it is not for such as have conversational gifts, and good taste to use them, that this article is written. The habit of talking well, like any other habit, good or bad, can be acquired, and its attainment is well worth any effort.

In the first place one must be sure he has something to say before monopolizing time which might otherwise be profitably and pleasantly employed; and then in few, simple, well-adapted words, bear part in the general conversation.

The wiser and more educated the society in which one finds himself, the less the necessity of robbing the dictionary for its polysyllables. The best one has to say is best said in the simplest manner, for all love most that "talk" which seems the natural overflow of the mind. The most eloquent story to which the writer ever listened was told by an Irish woman standing in the doorway of her humble dwelling. It related to the death by fire of a little girl in the neighborhood. The horror, the touching pathos, the deep sorrow were beyond description impressive. She paused for no choice words or phrases. The fountains of her soul were stirred, and the sad scene lived again in her graphic description. The secret lay in the intense impression the tragedy had made upon her memory.

It is not natural for all to select intuitively the choicest language, nor is it necessary to constitute one's self a good talker. Rather throw away all ambition to shine, be emulous only to please, and this one is certain to do if sincerity gives depth to the tone, and affectations of all kinds be utterly discarded.

Such as are neither gifted with ideas nor power to express themselves felicitously should be doubly careful not to absorb too many of the precious moments allotted to social converse. To listen well is scarcely less of an accomplishment than to talk well, and the best of talkers gain in consideration if sometimes they are willing to listen. A high-bred courtesy dictates speech or silence as best befits the occasion, and one rarely errs if, where a doubt exists, the golden silence obtains the preference.

Allusion was made at the beginning to *tedious* talkers, meaning in general those who have not much to say and whose vanity induces them to claim undeserved attention; there is, however, another class almost as unendurable—those who possess an inexhaustable flow of words that never clothe a sentiment nor suggest a train of thought Such leave the listener not only unenriched but positively exhausted, his own mental vitality drowned in a flux of words.

To exercise a nice tact upon the subject of conversation, to discard all desire to shine, wishing simply to give utterance to well-digested thoughts, and to listen with respectful attention when others speak, is the secret of good companionship. Some watchful self-control is necessary to attain this end, but it is worth all it costs and lies within the scope of all.

The subject is well worth careful consideration, and should commend itself to all who see the necessity of a higher degree of excellence in social intercourse. H. J. L.

Boston Transcript.

THE CHILDREN.

The following beautiful poem was written by Charles Dickens:

When the lessons and tasks are all ended,
And the school for the day is dismissed,
And the little ones gather around me,
To bid me good-night and be kissed:
Oh, the little white arms that encircle
My neck in a tender embrace!
Oh, the smiles that are halos of heaven,
Shedding sunshine of love on my face!

And when they are gone I sit dreaming
Of my childhood too lovely to last;
Of love that my heart will remember,
When it wakes to the pulse of the past,
Ere the world and its wickedness made me
A partner of sorrow and sin;
When the glory of God was about me,
And the glory of gladness within.

Oh, my heart grows weak as a woman's,
And the fountains of feeling will flow,
When I think of the paths steep and stony,
Where the feet of the dear ones must go;
Of the mountains of sin hanging o'er them,
Of the tempest of Fate blowing wild;
Oh! there is nothing on earth half so holy
As the innocent heart of a child!

They are idols of hearts and of households;
They are angels of God in disguise;
His sunlight still sleeps in their tresses,
His glory still gleams in their eyes;
Oh! those truants from home and from heaven,
They have made me more manly and mild!
And I know how Jesus could liken
The Kingdom of God to a child.

I ask not a life for the dear ones,
All radiant, as others have done,
But that life may have just enough shadow
To temper the glare of the sun;
I would pray God to guard them from evil,
But my prayer would bound back to myself;
Ah! a seraph may pray for a sinner,
But a sinner must pray for himself.

The twig is so easily bended,
I have banished the rule and the rod;
I have taught them the goodness of knowledge,
They have taught me the goodness of God;
My heart is a dungeon of darkness,
Where I shut them from breaking a rule;
My frown is sufficient correction;
My love is the law of the school.

I shall leave the old house in the autumn,
To traverse its threshold no more;
Ah! how I shall sigh for the dear ones,
That meet me each morn at the door!
I shall miss the "good-nights" and the kisses,
And the gush of their innocent glee,
The group on the green, and the flowers
That are brought every morning to me.

I shall miss them at morn and at eve,
Their song in the school and the street;
I shall miss the low hum of their voices,
And the tramp of their delicate feet.
When the lessons and tasks are all ended,
And death says, "The school is dismissed!"
May the little ones gather around me,
To bid me good night and be kissed.

Shortness of Time in Dreams.—One of the most remarkable phenomena connected with dreams is the shortness of time needed for their consummation. Lord Brougham says that in dictating, a man may frequently fall asleep after uttering a few words, and be awakened by the amanuensis repeating the last word to show that he has written the whole; but though five or six seconds only have elapsed between the delivery of the sentence and its transfer to paper, the speaker may have passed through a dream extending through half a life-time. Lord Holland and Mr. Babbage both confirm this theory. The one was listening to a friend reading aloud, and slept from the beginning of the sentence to the latter part of the sentence immediately succeeding; yet, during this time, he had a dream, the particulars of which it would have taken more than a quarter of an hour to write. Mr. Babbage dreamt a succession of events, and awoke in time to hear the concluding words of a friend's answer to a question he had just put to him. One man was liable to feelings of suffocation, accompanied by a dream of a skeleton grasping his throat, whenever he slept in a lying posture, and had an attendant to wake him the moment he sunk down. But, though awakened the moment he began to sink, that time sufficed for a long struggle with the skeleton. Another man dreamt that he crossed the Atlantic, spent a fortnight in America, and fell overboard when embarking to return; yet his sleep had not lasted more than ten minutes.

An interesting literary discovery has been accidentally made in the Library at Frankfort. The fall of a shelf, holding volumes containing the correspondence of Voltaire and Frederick the Great, brought to light certain MSS., yellow and dirty, which turned out to be a series of letters exchanged between Voltaire and Pyron. Their authenticity being duly certified, they were forwarded to the Royal Academy of Berlin.

THE QUAKERESS IN THE FOREST.

How beautiful are these autumnal woods!
The wilderness doth blossom like the rose,
And change into a garden of the Lord!
How silent everywhere! Alone and lost
Here in the forest, there comes over me
An inward awfulness. I recall the words
Of the Apostle Paul: "In journeyings often,
Often in perils in the wilderness,
In weariness, in painfulness, in watchings,
In hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness;"
And I forgot my weariness and pain,
My watchings, and my hunger and my thirst.
The Lord hath said that he will seek his flock
In cloudy and dark days, and they shall dwell
Securely in the wilderness, and sleep
Safe in the woods! Whichever way I turn,
I come back with my face towards the town.
Dimly I see it, and the sea beyond it.
O cruel town! I know what waits me there,
And yet I must go back: for ever louder
I hear the inward calling of the Spirit,
And must obey the voice. O woods, that wear
Your golden crown of martyrdom, blood-stained
From you I learn a lesson of submission,
And am obedient even unto death,
If God so wills it.

Longfellow's "New England Tragedies."

FUNERAL SERMONS.

"Where be the bad people buried?" Everybody know Tom Little, and one day he dies. What eulogies do we not hear over Tom's grave! Now if a clever, good-natured man, whose conviviality leads to habits of dissipation that ruin him, is to be celebrated as a great and renowned person, it is foolish to suppose that young men will not believe the conviviality to be the sign of the genius, and the dissipation the road to renown. The most immoral performance that we have lately read was not a circus song from the "Flying Trapeze" song-book, nor a chanson from the "Grand Duchesse," nor a French novel, nor the last favorite of the London cider-cellars, but it was a funeral discourse. It was a eulogy and a warning; the eulogy of a life that should not be imitated and the warning from a death that was inevitable. The life, according to the well-meaning clergyman was brilliant, successful, renowned; but oh, brethren, death is a very sudden mystery. In a moment, in the twinkling of the eye, and you are gone. So said the preacher, but it seems reasonable that if you have led a truly brilliant, and successful and worthily-renowned life, dear brethren, you need not fear to die. If death has terrors it is a successful life which destroys them. Therefore, good preacher, instead of pointing us to the death, point us, if you please, to the life, and let your lesson be: "My friends, this was a life to be avoided as an example;" or, "Here was a man who used his talents well, who had love and honor because he deserved them, whose life was successful because he feared God and served his brothers. To him, therefore, death was as the gentle opening of a gate beyond which are light and music. If you would die as he died, live as he lived.

Now the immorality of the sermon was, that it called a life brilliant and successful which was not so. It erected a false standard of character and effort, and it did not tell the truth even in what it stated. It was a perfunctory eulogy, a ceremonial sermon. But if any young person with similar tastes and tendencies had known the person and had heard the sermon, he must have said to himself at once: "Dear old belly (or whatever the appetite may have been), take your ease! You, it seems, are no impediment. You may master a man, and lead him through private shame and sorrow, and finally tumble him into the grave, and not a word shall be breathed to hint that you were the difficulty. Until I heard this excellent sermon I really supposed that I must master my appetites and subdue my passions; but this good clericus teaches me that, despite the belly, a life may be brilliant and successful; and if the belly ends it at last, only the brilliancy and success shall be commemorated in funereal numbers, and not the offending member. Mother Church absolves me.

'Who loves not wine, women, and song,
He is a fool his whole life long.'

Amen!"

That was a funeral sermon from the text *de mortuis*, and its inevitable improvement. Why should people be licensed or obtained or authorized to preach who misuse words so sadly, and talk of greatness without knowing what it means? There was poor Sheridan; did the funeral preacher call that a brilliant and successful life? The Duke of York, the King's son came to the funeral. Three noble lords, friends of the august Prince Regent—also a brilliant and successful being—sent from Carlton House to ask to attend the obsequies. The Prince himself, a few days before, sent two hundred pounds to Mr. Sheridan starving, which Mrs. Sheridan promptly sent back to him. Brilliant! why, the Lords adjourned after his speech upon Hastings, because their minds were too much dazzled to judge fairly. Successful! why, Edmund Burke said that his eloquence had something not prose nor poetry, but better than either. History has not hidden Sheridan's habits, nor failed to say that they ruined him. History has blown to the winds the *de mortuis* over Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Did the preacher do likewise, or did he praise the brilliant life and beg his hearers to be warned how to die?—*Geo. W. Curtis, in Harper.*

SOCIAL LIFE IN INDIA.

"Carlton," whose interesting letters from abroad form one of the most valuable features of the Boston *Journal*, thus writes of Hindoo society: To comprehend domestic life among Hindoos, let us take a look at one of their homes. The family is patriarchal. The father is the head; his sons bring their wives home one after another, the women occupying apartments by themselves. The Hindoo word for woman's apartment is zenanna. The women of the household mingle freely together, but John never sees the wife of his brother Joseph. Six or eight families and three or four generations are sometimes seen under one roof, and when the house becomes thus populous, the head of the family has quite as much as he can attend to in settling family troubles. Think of the life of these women. They are wholly ignorant; they know not a letter of their language. Why should a women learn to read? What good would come of it? They cannot go upon the street. If they go to visit a neighbor, it must be in a close palanquin, their faces veiled. They know nothing except family gossip. They cannot do the plainest sewing. The little tow-head on the lowest seat of an infant school in America, making patchwork, can use the needle more deftly than most of the wives of the millionaire Baboos.

Think of your little rosy-cheeked darling who climbs upon your knees for her good-night kiss being affianced in marriage at the age of five, and at twelve being a bride, shut up for the rest of her days with nothing to do—no knittingwork no bed-quilts to make, no knowledge of needlework; surrounded with books, yet not knowing a letter; her room a blank wall; her daily duties for the remainder of life being the performance of her daily *paojsa*—a worship of a little brass or stone image in the form of a monkey, or a figure with six arms and four faces; hanging flowers round its neck, sprinkling it with water, bowing before it, walking around it, talking to it as little girls to their dolls, lighting little wax tapers; nothing but this, except to dandle her children, bring food to the husband and eat her own, and re-arange the folds of cloth which answers for a garment; doing this and sleeping the rest of the time, from morning till night, from night till morning, through the twenty-four hours, the weeks, the months, the years, from childhood to old age! Such is the daily, unvarying life of the Hindoo women of the upper classes.

The Baboos, who read Shakespeare, who know what is going on in America, even to the rappings of the spirits, who will discuss the Theism of Theodore Parker with you, are beginning to feel that there is an awkward gap in their system of life. The Hindoo upper classes are too intellectual to be grossly sensual. Baboos repudiate Brigham Young. They are not polygamists—are fond of their wives, treat them with respect, and love their children, especially if they are sons. But there is no Eve in their paradise. They come home from the counting-house when the day's work is done, read a play from Shakespeare or on article from Blackwood, or Longfellow's last poem, and then comes the painful reflection that the wife, so far as all this is concerned, is an idiot. Many of the Baboos are now anxious to have their wives educated; but the women, knowing nothing of the sweets of knowledge, as a rule manifest but little desire to obtain an education. Yet they are desirous of learning embroidery. Those who have undertaken to do something toward raising the women of this land from their degradation have seized upon this, and are using it to great advantage.

Table Conversation.—You will find that a great deal of character is imparted and received at the table. Parents too often forget this; and therefore instead of swallowing your food in sullen silence, instead of brooding over your business, instead of severely talking about others, let the conversation at the table be genial, kind, social and cheering. Don't bring disagreeable things to the table in your conversation, any more than you would in your dishes. For this reason, too, the more good company you have at your table, the better for your children. Every conversation with company at your table is an educator of the family. Hence the intelligence and the refinement and the appropriate behavior of a family which is given to hospitality. Never feel that intelligent visitors can be anything but a blessing to you and yours. How few have fully gotten hold of the fact, that company and conversation at the table are no small part of education!

JOY AFTER SORROW.

Oh deem not they are blest alone
Whose lives a peaceful tenor keep;
The power who pities man has shown,
A blessing for the eyes that weep.
There is a day of sunny rest
For every dark and troubled night;
And grief may bide an evening guest,
But joy shall come with early light.

Bryant.

MARGARET FULLER.

"I very soon noted, even before I was prepared to ratify their judgment, that the women who visited us to make or improve her acquaintance seemed instinctively to recognize and defer to her as their superior in thought and culture. Some who were her seniors, and whose writings had achieved a far wider and more profitable popularity than hers, were eager to sit at her feet, and to listen to her casual utterances as to those of an oracle. Yet there was no assumption of precedence, no exaction of deference, on her part; for, though somewhat stately and reserved in the presence of strangers, no one 'thawed out' more completely, or was more unstarched and cordial in manner, when surrounded by her friends. Her magnetic sway over these was marvellous, unaccountable: women who had known her but a day revealed to her the most jealously guarded secrets of their lives, seeking her sympathy and counsel thereon, and were themselves annoyed at having done so when the magnetism of her presence was withdrawn. I judge that she was the repository of more confidences than any contemporary; and I am sure no one had ever reason to regret the imprudent precipitancy of their trust. Nor were these revelations made by those only of her own plane of life, but chambermaids and seamstresses unburdened their souls to her, seeking and receiving her counsel; while children found her a delightful playmate and a capital friend. My son Arthur (otherwise 'Pickie,') who was but eight months old when she came to us, learned to walk and to talk in her society, and to love and admire her as few but nearest relatives are ever loved and admired by a child. For, as the elephant's trunk serves either to rend a limb from the oak or pick up a pin, so her wonderful range of capacities, of experiences, of sympathies, seemed adapted to every condition and phrase of humanity. She had marvelous powers of personation and mimicry, and, had she condescended to appear before the foot-lights, would soon have been recognized as the first actress of the Nineteenth Century. For every effort to limit vice, ignorance, and misery she had a ready, eager ear, and willing hand; so that her charities—large in proportions to her slender means—were signally enhanced by the fitness and fulness of her wise and generous counsel, the readiness and emphasis with which she, publicly and privately, commended to those richer than herself any object deserving their alms. She had once attended, with other noble women, a gathering of outcasts of their sex; and, being asked how they appeared to her, replied, 'As women like myself, save that they are victims of wrong and misfortune.' No project of moral or social reform ever failed to command her generous, cheering benediction, even when she could not share the sanguine hopes of its authors: she trusted that these might somehow benefit the objects of their self-sacrifice, and felt confident that they must, at all events, be blest in their own moral natures. I doubt that our various benevolent and reformatory associations had ever before, or have ever since, received such wise, discriminating commendation to the favor of the rich, as they did from her pen during her connection with *The Tribune.*"—*Recollections of a Busy Life—Horace Greeley.*

How to Make Meetings Successful.—It was Daniel Webster, we believe, who, in explaining the reason why clerical orators were less successful than political, said that no man could be eloquent who was penned up in a box like the majority of pulpits. Half the power of any speaker depends on the place from which he delivers his address, and we are confident that many of our political meetings are not as successful as they might be, from inattention to details. Whether a meeting is held in or out of doors, great care should be taken that there should be no impediment to the speaker's freedom of action, or to the ease with which his audience can hear him.

Nearly all the European governments have recognized the new order of things in Spain, and have reopened diplomatic relations with the provisional government.

Never reflect on a past election, which was done with a good motive and with the best judgment at the time

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Count G. de Chabouly, } General Secretaries.
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A MONTHLY MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM AND NATURAL RELIGION.
EDITED BY S. H. MORSE & J. B. MARVIN.
The general purpose and character of this work may be sufficiently indicated in its title. It is proper, however, to add the following statement: The Radical furnishes a medium for the freest expression of thought on the questions that interest earnest minds in every community. Not having to consult denominational or party interests, it can consistently enforce the lessons of intellectual freedom and self-dependence. Confiding more in the natural force of Ideas for the progress and melioration of society, than in the good offices of the best disposed institution; in the Divine Spirit of Liberty steadily burning in the soul of man, rather than in the wisest prescriptions of political or ecclesiastical art; we are ambitious, by the discussion of ideas and principles, to fortify individuals in their trust of Spiritual Laws, and in an unwavering reliance on the protections of heroic character. As occasion demands, we shall criticize public affairs, and consider the different reformatory movements of the present day.
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